

THE  
MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN

# THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN

PEOPLES, ECONOMIES AND CULTURES, 400-1453

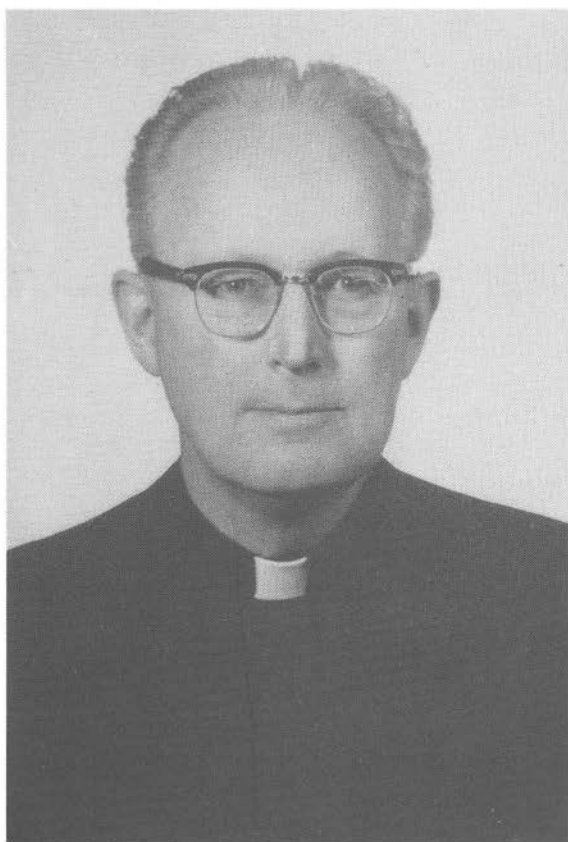
EDITORS

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VOLUME 4







Robert I. Burns S.J.

Barcelona, 1992

# IBERIA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD OF THE MIDDLE AGES

*Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns S.J.*

VOLUME I  
PROCEEDINGS FROM KALAMAZOO

EDITED BY

LARRY J. SIMON



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## PREFACE

At Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, May 7–10, 1992, as part of the twenty-seventh International Congress of Medieval Studies, one of the largest gatherings to date of North American historians of medieval Iberia assembled to pay tribute to the Rev. Dr. Robert I. Burns, S.J. Somewhat unnerved by the Congress coordinators' request that I introduce, in five minutes or less, Burns and his plenary session address, "Latinate Jewish Wills in Medieval Spain," I could not help but recall the story of T.S. Eliot's introduction by Paul Horgan, professor emeritus of English at Wesleyan University and Pulitzer Prize-winning historian of the American Southwest. After travelling a great distance at the invitation of the president of Southern Methodist University, Horgan walked to the front of the stage, and quickly uttered his entire introduction: "Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Eliot."<sup>1</sup> Historians of medieval Spain and the Mediterranean in May of 1992 needed no introduction to Burns and his work. On the likely chance, however, that non-historians, or historians of northern Europe—what those of us in Mediterranean studies, I noted, occasionally "consider the marginal periphery of our field"—were in attendance, I presented a brief overview of Burns's life and major works. The task, even with more space now than I had time then, and for a volume in a "Medieval Mediterranean" series, has not grown appreciably easier.

Robert Burns was born in San Francisco in 1921; he received his Ph.D. in medieval history from Johns Hopkins University in 1958, followed by a second doctorate in modern ethno-history from the Anthropos Institut of the University of Fribourg in 1961. Two doctorates would certainly be considered sufficient by most people, if not excessive by some, but Burns, apart from additional and incidental studies at Florence, Oxford, and elsewhere, actually holds a total of eight earned graduate degrees. Several of these relate to his studies for ordination as a Roman Catholic priest, and most were pursued at colleges and universities run by the religious order, the Society of

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<sup>1</sup> The full story is recounted in Paul Horgan, "To Meet Mr. Eliot: Three Glimpses," *The American Scholar*, 60, no. 3 (Summer 1991), 407–13 (409).

Jesus, of which he is a member. Burns taught at the University of San Francisco and the Gregorian University in Rome before receiving his Ph.D., then again at U.S.F. for a long stint, before replacing the late Lynn White, Jr. at the University of California, Los Angeles in 1976, where he has remained until his recent semi-retirement in the year of his seventieth birthday. He has trained seven Ph.D. students at UCLA, assisted innumerable others elsewhere, and has approximately a dozen doctoral students currently working with him.

Burns has published in *Annales E.S.C.*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*; and numerous times in various proceedings of the Congressos d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó, the *American Historical Review*, *Viator*, and *Speculum*, including once in the latter before receiving his doctorate; as well as in a wide variety of other journals.<sup>2</sup> An overview of his major monographs, however, will have to suffice for conveying the range of his work. Harvard University Press in 1967 published his two-volume ecclesiastical history entitled *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier*. Based on years of archival research, it was a massive, almost encyclopedic compilation of material on bishops and cathedral chapters; parish life and the school system; pastors and tithes; military and mendicant religious orders; monasteries and hospitals; ecclesiastical properties; and the ideological foundations of the Kingdom of Valencia in the years 1238 to c.1280. Not the least of the volume's several virtues, according to James Brodman, was that it "drew the connection between the successful introduction of an ecclesiastical infrastructure and the planting of a permanent Christian settlement"; helped to professionalize a Spanish ecclesiastical history occasionally dominated by amateurs, antiquarians, and archivists with local interests and perspectives; and sought to produce a "more modern, comprehensive definition of church."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Burns's complete current bibliography is being compiled and will appear in the companion volume, discussed below, also being published by Brill. There is an ample listing in Mikel de Epalza, M.<sup>a</sup> Jesus Paternina, and Antonio Couto, *Moros y Moriscos en el Levante Peninsular: Introducción Bibliográfica* (Alicante, 1983), 38-41, nos. 213-45; this is updated in the journal appearing annually *Sharq al-Andalus*, 1- (1984- ).

<sup>3</sup> James W. Brodman, "Burns and Spanish Ecclesiastical Studies," unpublished address at 27th Congress of Medieval Studies. Brodman quotes from *Crusader Kingdom* as Burns refers to an institution that "is not monolithic and hierarchic" but "in its overall pattern organic," a "whole little world of independent energy sources at work, a plurality of separate thrusts, combining with apparent fortuity to the same end" (1:301), representing "all the inspirations, applied values, familiar customs, disciplines, and consolations" (1:304) that formed Christian society in Valencia.

What astonished many colleagues at the time *Crusader Kingdom* appeared was that Yale University Press had in 1966—the previous year—published Burns's 512-page *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest*, based on archival materials from the Pacific Northwest and Europe. The American Association of State and Local History, and the American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch both awarded book prizes to Burns for *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars*; the American Catholic Historical Association honored Burns with its John Gilmary Shea Book Award in successive years for works in two different historical fields.

In 1973 Princeton University Press published his *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia*, a work which, in the author's own words, was "essentially an archival study resting upon many thousands of documents examined during the past nearly twenty years," and which inaugurated an entirely new scholarly era in the study of Mudejars, Muslims living under Christian rule.<sup>4</sup> In three broad sections covering the physical-historical, juridical-religious, and political-military milieus, Burns marshalled an enormous amount of data to complete a detailed and sympathetic portrait of Valencian Mudejars, their social structure, and almost every aspect of their existence. One of the points made by Mark Meyerson in his address at the Congress was that Burns was perhaps the first historian of the Mudejars to view them, as they were and as they viewed themselves, as truly Muslims.<sup>5</sup>

Princeton University Press also published, two years later in 1975, a work entitled *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia*. Originally planned as a chapter on taxes for the earlier *Islam Under the Crusaders*, the work grew to 394 pages and became its own monograph; Burns wrote that it could be read "for any of several reasons: as a freestanding socioeconomic monograph or as one contribution to a continuing larger project, as the first study in depth of Mudejar taxation, as an unusual approach to crusade history, as an essay in medieval revenues over the spectrum of feudal, royal,

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<sup>4</sup> The quote is from page 420.

<sup>5</sup> Meyerson, "Burns and Mudejar Studies," unpublished address at the 27th Congress of Medieval Studies. In addition to the numerous reviews of this work, one should note the discussion by John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven, 1977), 17–20, esp. 17: "This scholarly and erudite work deals with many of the subtler issues involved in the Iberian symbiosis, and is remarkably free of the bias which has so unfortunately infected earlier studies."

and seignorial, as a rare glimpse into the obscure subject of late Almohad society, or finally as a crossroads for examining the converging societies of Christendom and Islam.”<sup>6</sup> Readers of both of Burns’s Mudejar books, then and now, have often been struck, as was Charles Verlinden, “par la vivacité de l’exposé et la facilité brillante du style, ainsi que par l’abondance et l’information de l’annotation.”<sup>7</sup>

In March of 1976 on the campus of Tulane University in New Orleans, Burns was awarded the Haskins Medal for *Islam Under the Crusaders* at the fifty-first annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America; and in April of 1978 on the campus of Yale University he was inducted as a Fellow of the Mediaeval Academy. The Haskins citation referred to Burns as “the most prolific and dynamic Hispanist in the English-speaking world since the time of Henry C. Lea,” adding that “when his project, which will include a series of volumes of unpublished texts he is systematically rescuing from obscurity, is completed, he will rank with the very most distinguished and productive medievalists of our times. . . . In *Islam Under the Crusaders*, as well as in other articles, books, and monographs, Burns has carved out a new domain for research, which he has carried out with extraordinary boldness, vigor, and originality.”<sup>8</sup>

Soon thereafter, in 1978, Variorum Publishers reprinted a collection of his articles as *Moors and Crusaders in Valencia*; and in 1984 Cambridge University Press brought out a collection of his studies as *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the crusader kingdom of Valencia: Societies in symbiosis*. The former contained a wide range of articles dating from 1954 to 1977, most of them archival in nature, but at least one of which contained a summary of Mudejar studies and Burns’s own description of his Mudejar books.<sup>9</sup> The latter work contained two of

<sup>6</sup> Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, xii.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Verlinden in a review in *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire*, 55 (1977), 560; quoted in Karl F. Morrison, “Fragmentation and Unity in ‘American Medievalism,’” in *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*, ed. Michael Kammen (Ithaca, 1980), 49–77 (66).

<sup>8</sup> The “Report of the Committee for the Award of the Haskins Medal, 1976,” written by Milton V. Anastos, Chairman, Samuel G. Armistead, and E. Talbot Donaldson, appears in *Speculum*, 51, no. 3 (July 1976), 570–71.

<sup>9</sup> This is his “Mudejar History Today: New Directions,” originally published in *Viator*, 8 (1977), 127–43, esp. 139–43, which describes his own Mudejar books, and summarizes his *ponencia* commissioned for the 1975 conference in Teruel and published as “Los mudéjares de Valencia: temas y metodología,” *I Simposio internacional de mudéjarismo* (Madrid, 1981), 453–97. An updating of Mudejar studies was the

Burns's most often-cited works: "Christian-Muslim Confrontation: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," and a much expanded and revised "Muslim-Christian Conflict and Contact: Mudejar Methodology."<sup>10</sup> It also contained two chapters on the Jews, revised from an address to the tenth Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. The first of these, entitled "King Jaume's Jews: problem and methodology," is an evocative portrait of archival work and explains the methodology, much referred to by Burns in recent years, of "documentary archaeology."<sup>11</sup>

Burns organized and hosted, under the auspices of UCLA's Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, an international conference in Los Angeles on April 2-4, 1981. A collection of papers presented there was edited by him under the conference title *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror: Intellect & Force in the Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 1985). A subsequent collection, including contributions by many scholars not present at the original gathering, was edited by Burns as *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his thirteenth-century Renaissance* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

Early in his career Burns received a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, and he has enjoyed innumerable grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, U.S.F. and UCLA, and, since joining the faculty at UCLA, from the Del Amo Foundation. He was a visiting fellow in 1972 at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton, New Jersey. A yearly series of grants

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topic of Burns's recent address at the conference at the University of Notre Dame entitled "Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change"; the proceedings of this conference are being prepared for publication.

<sup>10</sup> Burns, "Muslim-Christian conflict and contact: Mudejar methodology" and "Christian-Muslim confrontation: the thirteenth-century dream of conversion," in *Muslims, Christians, and Jews*, 1-51, notes on 307-8, and 80-108, notes on 310-12; the former was originally published as "Muslim-Christian Conflict and Contact in Medieval Spain: Context and Methodology," in *Thought*, 54, no. 214 (September 1979), 238-52; the latter was published with an "in the West" added to the title in the *American Historical Review*, 76, no. 5 (December 1971), 1386-1434.

<sup>11</sup> Burns, "King Jaume's Jews: problem and methodology" and "Portrait gallery: Jews of crusader Valencia" in *Muslims, Christians, and Jews*, 126-71, notes on 315-18, and documentary appendix on 292-304; originally read at the X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, and published as "Jaume I and the Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia," in *Jaime I y su época, Comunicaciones 1 y 2* (Zaragoza, 1980), 245-322. A recent illustration of the methodology and reference to it is "The Crusade against Al-Azraq: A Thirteenth-Century Mudejar Revolt in International Perspective," *American Historical Review*, 93, no. 1 (February 1988), 80-106 (106).

throughout the 1970s from the National Endowment for the Humanities—constituting one of the more remarkable episodes of federal largesse for an individual in medieval studies, perhaps in all of the humanities—enabled Burns to embark on his most ambitious project to date: an edition of *Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia, The Registered Charters of its Conqueror, Jaume I, 1257–1276*.

The *Introduction* or volume I of the *Diplomatarium* was published as *Society and Documentation in Crusader Valencia* by Princeton University Press in 1985. Topics covered in the thirty-eight mini-chapters of this work included the royal archives and chancery, registers and codicology, ink and script, malforms and abbreviations, authentication and chronology, and onomastics and metrology; several chapters were devoted to languages, several to paper and the paper revolution which made the royal registers possible, and eight chapters discussed the contents or subject matter of the documents. One chapter discussed the few catalogs available to guide researchers interested in the Aragonese royal registers; Valencia in the years 1257–1291, and the Jews under the Crown of Aragon 1257–1327 are two of the fortunate topic areas that possess catalogs. I was privileged to be sitting in Burns's graduate seminars while he was writing this book, and I carried a typescript copy with me to Spain during my Fulbright year; how graduate students coped for the first time with the tantalizing but demanding registers of the thirteenth century before the appearance of Burns's volume remains a mystery to me.<sup>12</sup>

Volume II: *Documents 1–500* appeared with the added title *Foundations of Crusader Valencia: Revolt and Recovery, 1257–1263* (Princeton University Press, 1991), and an additional four volumes are planned. Although the *Diplomatarium* is massive in scope and it is difficult to conceive of one individual with the energy and raw perseverance to see a project this demanding through to completion, it represents only a portion of the work which Burns, working virtually alone, with only minimal and irregular research support in Spain and in

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<sup>12</sup> A partial answer is that many scholars elected not to, choosing the more manageable but in some cases artificial *terminus ad quem* for their books and articles of c.1250. A new problem has arisen: the Archives have now microfilmed the registers of Kings Jaume, Pere, and Alfons, covering the years 1257–1291, and make only the films available to researchers. The registers after 1291 are much better preserved, presenting far fewer palaeographical problems, though sheer quantity presents its own obstacles: there are some 260 registers for Jaume II (1291–1327) and approximately a thousand registers for Pere the Ceremonious (1336–87).



the United States, has done with the celebrated royal registers housed in Barcelona's Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. Burns's work continues, it might be added, even as the Archives are currently being relocated from their traditional site in a fifteenth-century palace, next to the Cathedral in the Gothic Quarter, to a more spacious and modern but less centrally located site. Jill Webster, in her address at the Congress, made reference to Burns's "careful compilation of data, the meticulous deciphering of the undecipherable," and the enormous erudition enabling Burns to "contend with lacunae, injudicious mending of the documents which has obscured or torn the most important letter or letters from a word, a plethora of difficulties regarding Muslim, Jewish, and Christian names, both personal and topographical, the over-abbreviation of formulae and many other related problems of transcription."<sup>13</sup>

In orthodox Jewish rabbinical circles, there is a unique and intriguing custom of referring to an individual by the title of his most famous book. Rabbi Israel Meir Hakohen is known as *He Who Loves Life*, a work on the evils of gossip, and Rabbi Abraham Isaiah Karelitz, known by his encyclopedic work on Jewish law, is universally referred to as the *Vision of Man*.<sup>14</sup> If this tradition were to spread among academics of medieval history, Burns would undoubtedly be known as *Islam Under the Crusaders*. In the latter part of the twentieth century, with humanity evidently taking less and less delight in the joys of reading, the practice might shift from monographs to articles. Burns's most famous article, several times reprinted, and which has served to attract far more graduate students to UCLA than any one of his many books, is his wry and witty presidential address to the American Catholic Historical Association.<sup>15</sup> An exercise in psycho-

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<sup>13</sup> Webster, "Burns's Contributions to Archival and North American Medieval Studies," unpublished address at the 27th Congress of Medieval Studies.

<sup>14</sup> This is referred to in the "Foreword" by Norman Lamm, President of Yeshiva University, to the reprint of Hayim Halevy Donin's *To Be a Jew: A Guide to Jewish Observance in Contemporary Life* (New York, 1991).

<sup>15</sup> Burns's presidential address was read at a luncheon during the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association in Atlanta on December 28, 1975; it was originally published as "The Spiritual Life of James the Conqueror, King of Arago-Catalonia, 1208-1276: Portrait and Self-Portrait," *Catholic Historical Review*, 62, no. 1 (January 1976), 1-35; and was first reprinted as the lead article in *Moors and Crusaders*. An expanded version was read at the X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, and published in *Jaime y su época* (see note 11 above), 323-57. A Catalan version was published as "La vida espiritual de Jaume el Conquistador," in *Jaume I i els Valencians del segle XIII* (València, 1981), 3-49.

history based on the first medieval autobiography by a king, this article would have Burns known as "The Spiritual Life of James the Conqueror." Ultimately, though, doctoral candidates must have dissertations, and to write a dissertation one needs either insight or a run of fresh data. After its full appearance, and the many articles, books, and dissertations it will not merely inspire but make possible, Burns would certainly have to be known as *Diplomatarium of Jaume the Conqueror*.

Recent years have witnessed a steady stream of focused, archival articles by Burns published here in the United States and more especially abroad. Of particular interest to readers and exercising considerable influence on the field of medieval Spanish history, however, have been several more general survey articles, usually preoccupied with methodological considerations, some containing personal insights into the man and scholar. One of these is "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, edited by Robert Bartlett and Angus Mackay (Oxford at Clarendon Press, 1989), 307–30. Another is "The Missionary Syndrome: Crusader and Pacific Northwest Religious Expansionism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30 (1988), 271–85. A third is his "Muslims in the Thirteenth-Century Realms of Aragon: Interaction and Reaction," published in *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300*, edited by James M. Powell (Princeton University Press, 1990).

The immediate occasion prompting the Kalamazoo sessions was Burns's seventieth birthday and his then impending retirement from UCLA; both the sessions in 1992 and the appearance of this collection now find Burns at the height of his critical capacities, with his indefatigable energy continuing unabated. The papers from the session exploring his contributions to scholarship and medieval studies are not printed here; it is still too early, especially as Burns continues to produce at a prolific rate, to assess Burns's lasting contributions.<sup>16</sup> Nearing completion are not only future volumes of the *Diplomatarium*, but a monograph entitled "Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latinate Jewish Wills in the Crown of Aragon, 1250–1350"; an archival work,

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Burns's defense of Jaume's authorship of the *Libre dels feyts*, and his novel proposal that it is based on Islamic models are also found reprinted in an appendix to *Muslims, Christians, and Jews*, 285–88, notes on 329.

<sup>16</sup> Preliminary assessments, published in Spain, which analyze or make extensive reference to Burns's work include Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "La obra investigadora de Robert I. Burns, S.J.," *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana*, 37 (1977), 115–19; Ernest

long in the making, entitled "A Lost Mendicant Order: The Friars of the Sack in the Realms of Aragon"; and a joint work with Paul Chevedden and Mikel de Epalza tentatively entitled "Interlineate Bilingual Treaties on Spain's Muslim-Christian Frontier: Játiva 1244/Al-Azraq 1245." Burns soon hopes to begin work with Jill Webster on producing a new translation of Jaume I's *Llibre dels feyts*; he is at work on a project with an American publisher to bring out the English translation of *Las Siete Partidas*, first produced in 1931 for the American Bar Association, in a multi-volume paperback edition with commentary by several different individuals; he has been known to ponder the possibilities of writing Jaume's biography or a more general work on the setting up of the kingdom of Valencia and the governing of its cities; meanwhile his previously announced work on "The Crusader-Muslim Predicament: Colonial Confrontation in the Conquered Kingdom of Valencia" has been, temporarily at least, postponed.

Boston College, Fordham University, Georgetown University, Gonzaga University, Loyola University (Chicago), Marquette University, the University of San Francisco, and Spain's University of Valencia have awarded Burns honorary doctorates. As more and more of his works are translated into both Castilian and Catalan, his reputation in Spain grows; recent awards and honors have included the Premi de la Crítica from the Serra d'Or in 1982, the Premi Catalònia of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in 1982, the Premi Internacional Llull from the Generalitat de Catalunya in 1988, and Creu de Sant Jordi from the Generalitat in 1989. With the funds from the Premi Internacional Llull, Burns endowed the biennial Premio del Rey book award offered by the American Historical Association. Burns is a founding member of the American Academy of Research Historians of Medieval Spain and was its first President, and he has served as President of not only the American Catholic Historical Association, as previously noted, but also the American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch. He is founder and director of the Institute of Medieval Mediterranean Spain, a research library collection, currently

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Belenguier, *Jaume I a través de la història*, 2 vols. (València, 1984), esp. 2:44-47 but note the twenty-nine references in the index at 2:232; Jill Webster, "Semblanzas en honor de la jubilación de Robert I. Burns, S.J.," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 21 (1991), 647-61; and Angel Galán Sánchez, *Una visión de la "decadencia española": La historiografía anglosajona sobre mudéjares y moriscos (siglos XVIII-XX)* (Málaga, 1991), 134, 152, and 155-65.

housed in Playa del Rey, California. This collection has grown far beyond its modest origins, though from the beginning it has been a public effort at systematic collection, rather than merely the private collection of a working scholar.<sup>17</sup>

Neither the publications nor the numerous awards and honors ultimately capture the essence of the man; in formal and informal discussions during the Congress, generous, kindly, approachable, helpful, unpretentious, brilliant, and visionary were among the adjectives most frequently recurring. Several individuals commented on the obvious delight Burns takes in his work, a delight which enables him to override obstacles and frustrations, and share with others his great enthusiasm for his chosen discipline. When asked why he composed, the response of Johann Sebastian Bach was said to have been: "For the greater glory of God—and because I enjoy it." Though the story is perhaps apocryphal, the expressed sentiment might nevertheless be applied to shed light on the unusual energy and enthusiasm of Robert I. Burns, S.J.<sup>18</sup> The sessions in 1992 and now this volume are designed to pay tribute to him: of course to his scholarship and awards, of course to acknowledge the debt our own careers and work may owe him, but also to recognize the individual and personal qualities which make him so worthy of the many honors and awards which he has won by virtue of his considerable academic talent.

Eight panels were offered at Kalamazoo under the title "Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns, S.J."; I organized seven of these under the auspices of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, and co-organized with Jill Webster (University of Toronto) one under the auspices of the American Academy of Research Historians of Medieval Spain. An additional panel of graduate students

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<sup>17</sup> See the entry in Carl T. Berkhout, "Medieval Research Centers in North America," *Medieval Studies in North America: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Francis G. Gentry and Christopher Kleinhenz (Kalamazoo, 1982), 113–14.

<sup>18</sup> Since both are available through inter-library loan, and the second catalogued under Burns's name on O.C.L.C., I might cite the following two articles by him, both of which were presented as talks to largely Jesuit audiences: "The Function of a Jesuit Scholar," *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Jesuit Education, August 16–17, 1962, Alma College, Los Gatos, California* (privately printed), 37–74; and "The Apostolate of Education and the Jesuits," Position paper delivered at "Ignatian Spirituality and Reform: An International Symposium," University of San Francisco, July 15–31, 1973 (photocopy reproduction), 1–50. Perhaps at some future date Burns will prepare all of his various educational and religious papers and talks for more formal presentation, and the edification of a wider audience.

from Fordham University, sponsored by the Texas Medieval Society, was organized by Theresa Vann (now of University of Minnesota, Duluth). Twenty-nine papers were presented in all, and most panels had presiders and respondents.

In addition to the individuals represented in this volume, others who participated in one official capacity or another in 1992 include Jeremy duQuesnay Adams (Southern Methodist University), James A. Brundage (University of Kansas), Anthony J. Cárdenas (University of New Mexico), Olivia Remie Constable (Columbia University), Jerry R. Craddock (University of California, Berkeley), Theresa Earenfight (Fordham University), Alberto Ferreiro (Seattle Pacific University), Paul Freedman (Vanderbilt University), Zaida I. Giraldo (University of Michigan), Lawrence McCrank (Ferris State University), James Muldoon (Rutgers University at Camden), Joseph O'Callaghan (Fordham University), Glenn Olsen (University of Utah), James F. Powers (Holy Cross College), Bernard F. Reilly (Villanova University), Roger E. Reynolds (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, University of Toronto), and Theresa Vann.

This volume contains contributions from presiders and commentators, as well as a selection of the presented papers; eleven of the eighteen articles in the volume were presented in preliminary form at the original Kalamazoo gathering. Alberto Ferreiro's excellent article on "Simon Magus and Priscillian in the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lérins," as the sole Visigothic contribution, unfortunately could not be included; I am pleased to report that it is forthcoming in the Brill journal *Vigiliae Christianae: A Review of Early Christian Life and Language*. My own contribution was first presented at the eighteenth annual meeting of the Southeastern Medieval Association, held September 25–26, 1992, at the College of William and Mary.

This volume has been of necessity organized into three parts, though the distinctions that led one article to be placed in a certain section rather than another are somewhat arbitrary, and the walls separating the parts are porous ones. Six articles are found in "Muslims, Christians and Jews in Iberia," though my own contribution and those of Melechen, Todesca, and Powell could just as easily fit under this rubric. Five articles are contained in "Economy and Society in Iberia and the Mediterranean," though readers may find that other contributions could have found a place here. Seven articles comprise "Personalities and Institutions of the Medieval World"; though the two articles devoted exclusively to Ramon Llull are not found here,

readers may well ask who, among medieval people, was more of a personality than Ramon Llull?

Three important elements or themes are not denoted by the section rubrics. The first is the emphasis upon Catalan society and culture: three articles (Johnston, Bollweg, and Beattie) in the first section, one article (Bensch) in the second, and five articles (Brodman, Chamberlin, Rogers, Webster, and Simon) in the third section have a decidedly Catalan bent. The article by Meyerson specifically draws attention to the diversity of medieval Iberia to advance its arguments. Three articles focus on Italy; the Mediterranean is prominent in two of these, and the third is principally devoted to a Spanish ecclesiastic in Italy. While Aragon and Castile appear in several articles, they receive exclusive treatment in only one article each. The second element is that within that collection of articles emphasizing Catalan society and culture, there is an important sub-category of articles—Johnston and Beattie on Ramon Llull, Bollweg on Arnau de Vilanova, and Rogers on Eiximenis—that mark this volume as contributing mightily to the study of medieval Catalan prose writing. A third element, certainly one that would be expected in a volume published in honor of an authority on medieval ecclesiastical history and the history of Muslim-Christian-Jewish relations, is that both religious and ecclesiastical history figure prominently in many of the studies.

In Part I, Mark Johnston's article on Llull's evangelization of Muslims and Jews sweeps away much accumulated detritus in the current Lullian and non-Lullian bibliography, revisits a lengthy list of primary texts and documents, and makes several valuable points while carefully situating Llull in his immediate social context. In a similar fashion, Pamela Beattie's study of Llull's ideas on crusade and mission is a careful reading of Llull's crusade corpus in the context of his wider thought and vision of Christendom. One of several virtues shared by both works is that they advance particular points of view while nevertheless serving as important introductions to anyone interested in these aspects of Llull's life and work.

Thomas Burman's concise and strikingly original article examines two twelfth-century apologetic treatises written in Arabic by Mozarab Christians to demonstrate Islamic influence on Christian apologetic tradition. The treatises perhaps also provide evidence for more intellectual vitality among twelfth-century Mozarabs than previously realized. John Bollweg's revisionist article argues that Arnau de Vilanova was less concerned with conversion and mission (does "sins of omis-

sion" lurk, as an implied pun of sorts, behind his title?) than he was with a defense of his Jewish-influenced exegetical technique, and his overall concern for the reform of Christian society. Steven McMichael, OFM Conv., explores models which Alfonso de Espina may have appropriated for his life and various activities, and examines in detail the sources for Alfonso's messianic argument against the Jews in his influential *Fortalitium Fidei*, concluding that originality was not the hallmark of the work.

Mark Meyerson's article is the only one in this collection directly related to studies fostered in 1992 by the celebration of the Columbus Quincentenary. Sensitive to the regionalism and divisions of medieval Iberia, in part because of his own major study of the Muslims of Valencia during Fernando's reign, and accepting several of Maurice Kriegel's ideas on the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, Meyerson offers a comprehensive reading of a vast amount of secondary literature and boldly stakes out a position which should force many to reconsider their ideas on Spain, 1492, and the Decline of Convivencia.

Part II begins with Stephen Bensch's study of Barcelona and early (pre-14th century) Catalan contact with Byzantium; this well-designed study marshalls documentary evidence not only from published collections but several archives as well. Nina Melechen's case-study of an incident near Toledo in the 1350s is completely reconstructed from archival data, and sheds light on credit and relations between Jews and Christians in fourteenth-century Castile, but with important implications for other times and places. William Stalls' provocative study of published primary sources forces him to challenge not only a staple of Aragonese historiography—that conquest and settlement in the early twelfth century were closely related enterprises in the Ebro River valley of Alfonso I—but also more contemporary demographic explanations denying this closeness. Silvia Orvietani Busch's study of Tuscan ports utilizes evidence not only from published sources, but especially from recent archaeological and geological investigations. Likewise, James Todesca's study, complemented by illustrations, explores cultural interpenetration and borrowing, as well as the developing economies of the medieval Spains, by combining historical and numismatic evidence.

Part III opens with James Powell's article advancing the current Frederick II revisionism which increasingly sees the "Stupor Mundi" as a man of his times; Powell sees less of Voltaire and more of Jaume the Conqueror in Frederick II's ideas and policies, and attempts to

reconstruct some of the reasons for earlier historiography on Frederick. Thomas Izbicki's study of Dominican papalism and the Roman revival of the fifteenth century focuses on the Spanish Cardinal Juan de Torquemada, O.P., his library, and his patronage of the arts in a Rome where, in some Renaissance circles at least, Thomas Aquinas remained very highly regarded.

James Brodman's article is a valuable summary of the growth of the hospital movement which spread through Catalonia, as indeed it did throughout most of Europe, in the thirteenth century. Cynthia Chamberlin utilizes a wide range of published documents, including some from and others forthcoming in Burns's *Diplomatarium*, for her interesting and instructive article on two of the women in Jaume the Conqueror's life. Donna Rogers' article, based on her forthcoming edition of part of Francesc Eiximenis's *Dotzè del Crestià*, provides a *stemma codicum*, with implications for the critical edition currently being edited in Girona, of this massive and important late fourteenth-century text. Jill Webster details the financial and other difficulties encountered by the mendicant orders in late medieval Puigcerdà in her article, and, in the volume's final article, I explore the relationship between the Church and slavery in thirteenth-century Majorca. The most important element in both of these final studies is the use of new data from the archives.

Space constraints preclude any attempt to detail all of the personal, professional, and/or coincidental relationships between authors and the volume honoree; some of the scholarly connections between Burns's work and the articles here are made clear in the footnotes. Several of the authors are among Burns's colleagues of longest standing in the profession; two authors received their doctorates under Burns's direction, and another two authors are Ph.D. candidates currently working with him. For a few of the authors the Kalamazoo Congress in 1992 represented their first opportunity to meet a man who had long inspired and influenced their own work.

There will be a second volume accompanying this present work. In Los Angeles on October 25–26, 1991, UCLA's Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies sponsored a smaller, more international, gathering entitled "Medieval Spain in the Western Mediterranean" to honor Burns. Several roundtable discussions with Burns's current graduate students were held; England, Israel, and especially Spain were represented on the program; and a number of very fine papers were read. The proceedings of this gathering, including a compre-



hensive, current Burns bibliography, are being edited by Paul Chev-  
edden, Donald Kagay, and Paul Padilla. James Brodman, Mark  
Meyerson, Joseph O'Callaghan, Jill Webster, and I were all privi-  
leged to read papers at both gatherings.

The enjoyable task remains of acknowledging accumulated debts. First, I would like to thank David Abulafia, Reader in Mediterranean History at the University of Cambridge and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, who is one of the series editors. Dr. Abulafia first suggested the Medieval Mediterranean Series to me in April of 1992, an occasion when he, his wife Dr. Anna Sapir Abulafia, and their children also welcomed me into their home for Passover seder. Almost all of the manuscripts published here have benefited from his critical eye, and his encouragement kept me on the task of editorial work despite my academic itinerancy. Second, Mark Meyerson, now of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, University of Toronto, also a series editor, read all of the manuscripts here, and aided in several crucial decisions. Third, a debt is owed to a number of volume contributors and non-contributors who took time from their busy schedules to anonymously read one or more articles. Fourth, I would like to thank Julian Deahl, Senior Editor (in-house) for E.J. Brill, for his work on this volume.

I was not a member of the faculty at Western Michigan University when the 27th Congress met. Dr. Otto Gründler, Director of the Medieval Institute, however, quickly offered his approval of the project when I first wrote him in May of 1989; he and his assistant Ms. Constance Klemm graciously accommodated all of our requests in 1992. Since joining Western Michigan's faculty in the fall of 1993, my editorial work has benefited from an Assigned-Time-to-Research course reduction granted me by my colleagues in the History Department and specifically by the departmental chairman, Dr. Ronald Davis. A grant from my university's Office of Research PPPE Fund has allowed for the inclusion of the illustrative material, and miscellaneous funds from my New Faculty Research Grant helped defray expenses for the map, drawn by UCLA Staff Cartographer Chase Langford, of Pisa and its coastline included in the Orvietani Busch article.

The American Numismatic Society assisted in the preparation of the coin plates for James Todesca's article, and gave permission to reproduce photographs from their collections. Media Services at

Michigan State University prepared several of the other photographs. Brepols Publishers of Turnhout, Belgium gave permission for us to reproduce two Llull illustrations from Le Myésier's *Breviculum*; these appear on the dust jacket, where Llull is depicted journeying to Tunis and disputing with Muslim savants, and in my own article.

In addition to the 1992 sessions, I have organized or co-organized sessions at Kalamazoo in 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, and again in 1994. The success of the 1992 sessions and, ultimately, this volume is owed to the participants and contributors, but in a special way to those who have been frequent participants over the years at our sessions: John Bollweg, Thomas Burman, Mark Johnston, Steve McMichael, Mark Meyerson, Donna Rogers. Burman proofread several articles in this volume for their Arabic diacritical markings; Johnston and Rogers have contributed advice and support both professionally and of a more personal nature. Lastly, I would like to publicly acknowledge the debt I owe to my wife Dr. Cynthia C. Craig (Michigan State University), who assisted in the 1992 preparations, and who has shouldered enormous burdens during my many months of editorial work on this project.

Larry J. Simon  
Kalamazoo, Michigan  
June 1994

PART ONE

MUSLIMS, CHRISTIANS AND JEWS IN IBERIA



## RAMON LLULL AND THE COMPULSORY EVANGELIZATION OF JEWS AND MUSLIMS

Mark D. Johnston

Ramon Llull's extraordinary career has earned him frequent mention in histories of thirteenth-century Christian missionizing. For forty years he roamed Western Europe, entreating princes and prelates with schemes for evangelizing unbelievers; made missionary trips to the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa; composed some 250 learned works in Latin, Arabic, and Catalan; and devised his own vast system of argument, the Great Universal Art of Finding Truth, which he claimed would demonstrate the veracity of Catholic doctrine.<sup>1</sup> Modern scholars regard him as a decisive contributor to the development of Christian missionizing. Ramon Sugranyes de Franch sees Llull as the preeminent "théoricien conscient de l'activité missionnaire."<sup>2</sup> Robert Burns counts him as a "central figure of the Franciscan missions to the Muslims" and "the most eminent single wielder of the method" of rationalist discourse.<sup>3</sup> Jeremy Cohen avers that Llull's efforts earned him "primacy in the missionary community of his day." Robert Chazan declares Llull the "most prominent" and "dominant figure" of Christian missionizing around 1300.

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<sup>1</sup> The most useful English studies of Llull's career are Jocelyn Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971), 1–134, and Anthony Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull* (Princeton, 1985), 3–52. The modern literature on Ramon Llull is very extensive and of grossly disparate scholarly value. The most comprehensive listings are Rudolf Brummer, *Bibliographia Lulliana: Ramon-Llull-Schrifttum 1870–1973* (Hildesheim, 1976) and Marcel Salleras i Carolà, "Bibliografia lul·liana (1974–1984)," *Randa*, 19 (1986), 153–98. The journal *Studia Lulliana* (formerly *Estudios Lulianos*) also regularly reviews new Lullian scholarship. The major collections of Llull's Catalan and Latin writings are the *Obres originals del Il·luminat Doctor Mestre Ramon Llull* [hereafter cited as *Obres*], 21 vols. (Palma de Majorca, 1906–50), continued in the *Nova edició de les obres de Ramon Llull*, 2 vols. to date (Palma de Majorca, 1990–); and the *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina* [hereafter cited as *RLOL*], 17 vols. to date (Palma de Majorca, 1959–67; and Turnhout, 1978–), appearing since volume 6 in the *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*.

<sup>2</sup> "L'apologétique de Raimond Lulle vis-à-vis de l'Islam," in *Islam et chrétiens du Midi (XII–XIV<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 18 (Toulouse, 1983), 373–93 (376).

<sup>3</sup> "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971), 1386–1434 (1397, 1398); repr. in *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the crusader kingdom of Valencia: Societies in symbiosis* (Cambridge, 1984), 80–108, and 310–312.

Benjamin Kedar reckons Llull's apologetic arguments "the most effective presentations of most of the opinions then current."<sup>4</sup>

Readers familiar with such judgements are often surprised to learn that Ramon Llull's evangelizing endeavors achieved very little notice in his own day. The schoolmen and chroniclers of his era scarcely mention him or his work. The extant independent documentation of his accomplishments is modest: a quasi-hagiographic *Vita* composed by his admirers at Paris in 1311, various letters of recommendation, and some legal documents.<sup>5</sup> This testimony offers frustratingly few details about Llull's interaction with the governmental, academic, and ecclesiastical groups that most concerned him. Thus, Cohen acknowledges that "no direct Jewish responses to Lull have remained." Chazan concludes that Llull was "almost oblivious" to the missionary initiatives of mendicant leaders such as Ramon de Penyafort. E. R. Daniel avers that "No evidence indicates that Llull made any impression on the friars."<sup>6</sup>

The apparent disparity between Llull's colossal endeavor and its limited impact demands especially careful attention to the social, political, economic, and cultural situation of his multifarious intellectual and spiritual undertakings. Llull's efforts to promote the compulsory evangelization of Jews and Muslims under Christian rule offer an excellent object for this kind of circumstantial study. His proposals regarding this tactic are not numerous, yet his attempts to implement it generated three of the few documents testifying to his activity. Moreover, the forced proselytization of Jews and Muslims involved specific ecclesiastical policies, royal legislation, social structures, cultural relations, and economic forces that have already received ex-

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<sup>4</sup> Cited respectively from *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, 1982), 200; *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), 161–62; and *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), 190.

<sup>5</sup> Numerous editions of the *Vita* are available; citations below are from *Vida de Ramon Llull: les fonts escrites i la iconografia coetànies*, ed. Miquel Batllori and Jocelyn N. Hillgarth (Barcelona, 1982). On the letters and correspondence, see Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism*, 54, 118–19, and 133 or Bonner, *Selected Works*, 29, 45–46, and 51. Among the legal papers, the most interesting is a request in 1276 by his wife, asking for management of his affairs, because he has become too "contemplative"; text ed. Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eva*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1908, 1921), 1:3–4. On the incidental documents, see J. N. Hillgarth, "Ramon Llull's Early Life: New Documents," *Mediaeval Studies*, 53 (1991), 337–47.

<sup>6</sup> *Friars and the Jews*, 221; *Daggers of Faith*, 163; and *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington, 1975), 73.

tensive scholarly attention.<sup>7</sup> Careful consideration of Llull's endeavors within these circumstances shows how he, as a layman working independently, faced formidable practical and material obstacles to winning Jewish or Muslim converts. His case suggests as well the need for further study on the evangelizing efforts of the mendicant orders. In attempting to convert Jews or Muslims subject to Christian rule, both Ramon Llull and the friars were seeking to re-weave many strands from the well-worn fabric of their society. For those evangelists—and for modern historians—that fraying tapestry of human relations would understandably resist seamless composition with the single thread of religious belief.

### *Compulsory Evangelization before Llull*

Recent scholarship on compulsory evangelization of Jews or Muslims in medieval Europe has tended to regard the practice of forced preaching as a deliberate enterprise initiated by the mendicant orders around 1240 and supported by (sometimes inconsistent) papal policies and (often contradictory) royal legislation. Evidence for the coherence of this undertaking remains, however, limited and scattered. The popes had long urged the conversion of Jews and Muslims, although organized institutional responses by the clergy or incidental private reactions by laypeople are hard to gauge. The Rule written for the Order of Santiago in the 1170s lists conversion of conquered Muslims among the knights' objectives.<sup>8</sup> The Genoese merchant Guglielmo Alfachino disputed with rabbi Moses Abraym at Ceuta in 1179.<sup>9</sup>

More deliberate efforts at forced preaching appear with the mendicant orders in the early thirteenth century. The first two commonly cited examples of the friars' activity both occur in France. The account of a rabbi at Narbonne in the 1230s tells how a

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<sup>7</sup> In addition to the scholarship cited elsewhere in this essay, other recent general studies that offer useful background on Llull's work include Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1990); Walter Pakter, *Medieval canon law and the Jews* (Ebelsbach, 1988); Jean Richard, *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs: les perspectives orientales du monde latin médiéval* (London, 1983); and Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority: the Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

<sup>8</sup> Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 47.

<sup>9</sup> On this event and the similar later efforts of Inghetto Contardo, see Ora Limor, "Missionary merchants: Three medieval anti-Jewish works from Genoa," *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), 35–51.

Dominican, accompanied by a multitude of distinguished Christians, entered the main synagogue there and proclaimed the right to evangelize Jews.<sup>10</sup> The arguments advanced by the friar expressed the theological grounds for such activity, but the presence of many distinguished Christian citizens ensured its socio-political impact. Later in the same decade, the convert Nicholas Donin (apparently a Franciscan friar) culminated a campaign at Paris against the “blasphemies” of rabbinic literature by debating the errors of the Talmud in 1240 with rabbi Yehiel ben Joseph of Paris, in the presence of Queen Mother Blanche of Castile.<sup>11</sup> This pair of incidents deserves two somewhat obvious comments. First, events like the dispute over the Talmud unquestionably had wider impact, thanks to the importance of Paris’s role as the center of Christian theological study and of training for the best mendicant scholars.<sup>12</sup> Second, the two incidents none the less define neatly the broad distinction between, in Burns’s words, the “wider, quiet work” carried on by friars proselytizing local Jewish or Muslim populations and the “specialized apostolate” of the few well-schooled Christian apologists who debated equally learned opponents.<sup>13</sup> Much of the current literature on the mendicant campaign among Jews and Muslims simply assumes the coincidence of these two levels throughout Western Europe, without regard for the institutional, regional, demographic, political or other material differences between them. Thus, Eusebi Colomer asserts that the Paris debate of 1240 “immediately” fomented a campaign of both preaching and disputation in the Crown of Aragon.<sup>14</sup>

Such claims ignore the need, in studying the licenses and safeguards granted to friars for evangelizing Jews or Muslims, to recognize that the mendicant orders controlled their members’ preaching, teaching, and disputation through various individual privileges and institutional policies.<sup>15</sup> The ordinary friar, officially commissioned as a preacher, evidently needed no special license to proselytize unbe-

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<sup>10</sup> See Siegfried Stein, *Jewish-Christian Disputations in Thirteenth-Century Narbonne* (London, 1969) and the analysis by Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 39–44.

<sup>11</sup> Analyzed in detail by Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 60–76.

<sup>12</sup> On the importance of Paris as a center for diffusion of Christian theology, see David L. D’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), 134–203.

<sup>13</sup> “Christian-Islamic Conversion,” 1412.

<sup>14</sup> “Ramón Llull y el judaísmo en el marco histórico de la Edad Media Hispana,” *Estudios Lulianos*, 10 (1966), 5–46, and 12 (1968), 131–44 (10:28).

<sup>15</sup> See *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti (secoli xiii–xiv)* (Todi, 1978).



lievers.<sup>16</sup> Dominicans seeking to dispute formally with Jewish or Muslim theologians did require a special license, available in Spain from their missionary *studia*.<sup>17</sup> This license was in turn distinct from the permission for academic disputation, granted every two years by their provincial chapter.<sup>18</sup> The ordinary friars' addresses to Jewish or Muslim audiences and interchanges with their rabbis or *qādis* did not often involve theological disputation of a formal, academic character. Hence, the licenses and safeguards granted to these evangelists most often concern the immediate, practical conditions of their encounters.

The first document regarding those conditions in the Crown of Aragon is a single provision included among the statutes issued by Jaume I at the Council of Lleida on March 12, 1243.<sup>19</sup> The statutes begin with decrees designed to promote the legal, social, and economic welfare of converts: no legal or customary impediments should hinder any Jew or Muslim from converting, no convert should lose property, and no convert should suffer insults or abuse, under penalty of fines. These provisions somewhat vaguely urge for the realms of Aragon the support and protection of converts established, but not always honored, by secular and ecclesiastical authorities throughout Europe in this era.<sup>20</sup> Jaume Riera i Sans argues that the decrees also reflect "sporadic" voluntary conversions, but that even the clerics who most sought the conversion of unbelievers did not expect this to occur on a mass basis.<sup>21</sup> Chazan finds little "evidence of

<sup>16</sup> See Gustavo Cantini, "De praedicatorum institutione et formatione in Ordine Minorum," *Acta ordinis fratrum minorum*, 52 (1934), 35–43; Jean Leclercq, "Le magistère du prédicateur au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 15 (1946), 105–47; Jean-Pierre Renard, *La Formation et la désignation des prédicateurs au début de l'Ordre des Prêcheurs* (Fribourg, 1977); and Marie-Humbert Vicaire, "Sacerdos et prédication aux origines de l'ordre des Prêcheurs," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 64 (1980), 241–54.

<sup>17</sup> Coll "Escuelas de lenguas orientales en los siglos XIII y XIV (Controversias y misiones a los judíos)," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 19 (1946), 217–40 (238).

<sup>18</sup> Coll "Las disputas teológicas en la edad media (Contribución a la historia de las disputas teológicas en España)," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 20 (1947), 77–101 (81). Cf. Cyril Smith *The University of Toulouse in the Middle Ages* (Milwaukee, 1958), 85.

<sup>19</sup> The statutes themselves have not survived, but appear cited in a papal bull of confirmation granted by Innocent IV on August 20, 1245; ed. and trans. Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (Philadelphia, 1933), 254–7.

<sup>20</sup> Grayzel, *Church and the Jews*, 15–20; idem, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, vol. 2: 1254–1314, ed. Kenneth R. Stow (New York, 1989), 57, 82–84, 142–45, 191, 307, 326–27.

<sup>21</sup> "Les llicències reials per predicar als jueus i als sarraïns (Segles XIII–XIV)," *Calls*, 2 (1987), 113–43 (115).

actual conversion" in these stipulations.<sup>22</sup> None the less, the typically reactive character of such legislation authorizes the inference that these were already occasional, if not chronic, problems, which implies that some voluntary conversions were occurring. Subsequent promulgations of these same sanctions confirm that those problems continued to resist remedy by royal fiat. Moreover, these decrees aptly demonstrate that conversion must have involved some calculations of social and economic advantage, in addition to simple acceptance of a religious creed.<sup>23</sup> Judging the relative "voluntary" or "involuntary" force of non-theological factors seems a moot issue in cases such as the Muslims of Xilxes, who requested baptism in 1276, hoping to avoid reprisals from Christians angered by the recent rebellion in Valencia.<sup>24</sup> Jaume's statutes address these situations more immediately than they do cases of purely religious conversion.

The statute of 1243 continues with the provision that royal officials may compel unwilling Jews or Muslims to attend and "patiently" hear preaching by friars or bishops and archbishops.<sup>25</sup> Jaume thus put "la màquina estatal al servei de l'acció missionera," according to Riera i Sans. The latter insists that this decree predates by many years the theological training offered in mendicant missionary *studia*, and thus the preaching mentioned here must have been a completely separate activity.<sup>26</sup> Again, the reactive character of such legislation presumably legitimizes the inference that some mendicant missionizing among Jews and Muslims was common by 1243. However, the edict of 1243 does not mention any schedule, time or place for this preaching, which archbishops, bishops or friars could, in any case, perform freely. Two specific features of Jaume's decree are especially impor-

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<sup>22</sup> *Barcelona and Beyond: the Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992), 84.

<sup>23</sup> On this basic, but fundamental qualification, see the comments of Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 34–35.

<sup>24</sup> On this case, see Lourie "Anatomy of Ambivalence: Muslims under the Crown of Aragon in the Late Thirteenth Century," in *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in medieval Aragon* (Aldershot, 1990), 60–61.

<sup>25</sup> Grayzel, ed., *Church and the Jews*, 1:256: "quandocumque Archiepiscopus, Episcopi vel Fratres Predicatores, et Minores accesserint ad villas, vel loca ubi Saraceni vel Judei moram fecerint, et verbum Dei dictis Judeis vel Saracenis proponere voluerint, ipsi ad vocationem eorum convenient, et pacienter audiant predicationem eorum, et Officiales nostri, si gratis venire noluerint, eos ad hoc omni excusatione postposita compellant."

<sup>26</sup> "Llicències reials," 115.

tant: first, it explicitly authorizes the use of coercion; second, it insists that Jewish or Muslim audiences hear Christian preaching "patiently." This provision for compulsory assembly and insistence on respectful listening imply that voluntary attendance and polite attention had probably not occurred in previous attempts to proselytize these groups. By authorizing coercion of audiences, Jaume's statute perhaps sought to quell disputes between preachers and Jews or Muslims by specifying the evangelists' absolute right to address these audiences in peace. The royal edict is thus an effort to forestall civic disturbances. Finally, it is essential to recognize that this statute, the earliest known Catalan-Aragonese legislation on compulsory evangelization, already treats this practice together with the social and economic problems of conversion. This union of concern for the welfare of converts with measures to encourage conversion is a leit-motif of later Catalan-Aragonese legislation and of Ramon Llull's own proposals.

There are no records of any regular or occasional implementation of the 1243 decree as a mandate for compulsory evangelization.<sup>27</sup> The next notice of this tactic appears in connection with a more sophisticated missionary endeavor, the famous disputation held at Barcelona in July of 1263. Scholars of Llull's career have often imagined that this celebrated encounter was deeply influential in the development of his career, although he nowhere mentions it in his writings.<sup>28</sup> Strictly speaking, the Barcelona disputation was not an ecumenical dialogue among intellectual peers, but a polemical confrontation, staged as a special royal "command performance," between Rabbi Moses ben Nahman of Girona (Bonastruc de Porta) and the Dominican brother Pau Crestià, a converted Jew from Montpellier. Chazan suggests that Dominican authorities arranged the debate in order to test new methods of argumentation.<sup>29</sup> Of course, the Paris debate of 1240 evidently had already served this purpose. In the aftermath, Jaume I, along with Pau Crestià and other Dominican authorities, preached to Jews in the synagogue at Barcelona. The king also issued new legislation to promote compulsory evangelization. On August 26, 1263 he released a decree commanding all

<sup>27</sup> J. M. Coll believes some preaching or disputation occurred sporadically; see "Escuelas de lenguas" 19:217. J. Riera i Sans thinks not; "Llicències reials," 115-16.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. Bonner *Selected Works*, 16 n. 55; Burns "Christian-Islamic Confrontation," 1408; or Cohen *Friars and the Jews*, 210.

<sup>29</sup> *Barcelona and Beyond*, 55.

Jews and Muslims in his realms to attend mendicant preaching and reiterating the need to protect converts from economic loss or social ostracism. On August 29, 1263 he promulgated a special order for Jews to attend sermons by Pau Crestià.<sup>30</sup> The latter document includes instructions regarding the Dominican missionary's special charge to inspect Hebrew writings, as well as other provisions that become the precedent for similar "licenses" later granted to Ramon Llull and other individual evangelists. It tells the Jews that when Friar Pau comes "to you in the synagogues or your homes or other places for the fitting purpose of preaching God's word or disputing or conferring with you about Holy Scripture, whether in public or in private or through informal conversation, you are obliged collectively and individually to hear calmly and receptively his questions about the Faith and Holy Scripture, and to respond to the best of your knowledge, humbly, reverently, and without subterfuge or deceit"; it concludes by ordering all royal officials who desire the king's favor and grace to compel any unwilling Jews to attend.<sup>31</sup> This decree is especially noteworthy for its clear characterization of the interchange expected from compulsory evangelization. The decrees of 1243 and August 26, 1263 simply require Jews or Muslims to assemble and hear Christian preaching in silence. This new license gives Pau Crestià sweeping authority to preach, dispute, or confer anywhere with all Jews and obliges them not only to listen respectfully but also to respond patiently. The latter provision perhaps sought to use local preaching in synagogues as a further opportunity to assess the impact of new argumentation, as Chazan has suggested. This decree of August 29, 1263 implies that preaching in synagogues or mosques—like the university disputations or popular preaching of this era—was probably not a calm affair in which passive audiences listened po-

<sup>30</sup> For texts of these decrees, see Heinrich Denifle "Quellen zur Disputation Pablos Christiani mit Mose Nachmani zu Barcelona 1263," *Historisches Jahrbuch des Görresgesellschaft*, 8 (1887), 225–44 (234–36).

<sup>31</sup> Denifle, ed., "Quellen," 235–36: "ad vos ad synagogas vel domos vestras vel caetera loca pro idonea causa praedicandi verbum Dei, vel disputandi vel conferendi vobiscum de scripturis sanctis, in publico vel in privato vel familiari colloquutione, simul vel separatim ad eum teneamini venire et mansuete et favorabiliter auscultare suisque interrogationibus de fide et de scripturis sacris, secundum quod scireritis, humiliter et reverenter et absque calumpnia et subterfugio respondere"; "Mandamus insuper et districte praecipimus omnibus baiulis, vicariis, et aliis officialibus nostris universis, ut praedictos iudaeos, si praedicta gratis facere noluerint, auctoritate nostra compellant, si de nostra gratia confidunt vel amore."

lately to a speaker.<sup>32</sup> The specific charge to respond to Crestià reflects his authority, as a theologian, to engage in debate on substantive questions. He obtained a similar license from Louis IX of France when, bolstered by royal and papal support, he brought his preaching campaign to Paris in 1269.<sup>33</sup> The special license for Friar Pau to dispute specifically with Jews appears to initiate a decrease in legislation regarding Muslims. This disparity in attention grows in subsequent decades, reflecting a difference in Muslim response or Christian action that remains little studied.

These new decrees provoked immediate appeals for exceptions and qualifications from the *calls*. On August 30, 1263 Jaume I issued another edict to his officials, limiting the coercion that they could apply to Jews. It explains to all royal agents that “although you may not compel or permit compelling Jews, their wives or children in any city or town of our realm to leave their neighborhood for the purpose of hearing sermons by Preaching Friars, still if some friar of the Preachers wishes to enter the *call* or a synagogue in order to preach to them, they may listen if they wish; but we grant the Jews that they are not obliged to leave their neighborhood to hear sermons or to hear sermons anywhere by force.”<sup>34</sup> This new decree concludes by disallowing any broader powers previously granted to Dominican evangelists. Most importantly, this edict establishes two fundamental restrictions: that no one may compel Jews to leave their neighborhoods to hear Christian preaching; and that no one may force Jews to hear preaching. The decrees from August 1263 thus define the competing positions of a conflict continued long into the fourteenth century: the claims of Christian preachers seeking Jewish audiences repeatedly clashes with the attempts of the *calls* to resist these intrusions.

<sup>32</sup> For notable examples of behavior at these events, see Palemon Glorieux, *La Littérature quodlibétique* (Paris, 1935), 24; or Phyllis Roberts *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante: Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto, 1968), 51.

<sup>33</sup> Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 44–45 translates and discusses the Paris license.

<sup>34</sup> Denifle, ed., “Quellen,” 237: “quatenus non compellatis nec compelli permittatis Iudeos civitatum, villarum et locorum dominacionis nostre nec uxores aut filios suos ad eundum ad aliquem locum extra calla iudayca eorum causa auscultandi predicationem aliquorum fratrum predicatorum; sed si aliquis frater predicatorum voluerit intrare calla iudayca eorum seu sinagogas et ipsis ibidem predicare, audiant illum si voluerint; hoc enim concedimus eisdem Iudeis, quod non teneantur ire extra calla iudayca eorum causa auscultandi alicuius predicationem nec auscultare etiam in aliquo loco per vim ipsam predicationem.”

Pope Clement IV seconded these decrees for compulsory evangelization with letters to Jaume I in 1266 and 1267.<sup>35</sup> As before, it is difficult to know whether ordinary efforts to proselytize Jews or Muslims in the Crown of Aragon were actually increasing as a result of these proclamations. J. M. Coll has conjectured that pairs of friars were now regularly entering Jewish neighborhoods, where they expounded Christian doctrine to groups assembled in synagogues and debated with Jewish rabbis.<sup>36</sup> Coll supposes that the friars needed fairly sophisticated knowledge of their opponents' language and arguments in order to carry off these debates. However, it seems unlikely that every Jewish or Muslim audience included educated respondents able or willing to argue with the friars. Local rabbis or *qadis* were not necessarily better versed in their theology than the neighboring Christian parish priest.<sup>37</sup>

A more certain feature of these encounters is that large groups of Christians were accompanying the preachers. New royal decrees, issued in response to complaints from Jewish communities, limit the number of these companions, as in this restriction granted to the Jews of Barcelona on October 25, 1268: "because of preaching done to you outside the *calls*, you often suffer insults and injuries from Christians. So if the friars or others wish to preach to you in your synagogues, they may not come into the synagogues or *calls* to preach with a multitude of Christian people, but only with ten upright Christian men and no more."<sup>38</sup> On November 9, 1268 Jaume I granted this same restriction to the Jews of Lleida. The context of this privilege is especially interesting: it appears in a long letter reaffirming the Jews' rights regarding many other contended practices, from sales of food or meat and rates of usury to maintaining synagogues and cem-

<sup>35</sup> On these missives, see especially Coll, "Escuelas de Lenguas," 19:225–29.

<sup>36</sup> Coll, "Escuelas de lenguas," 19:232–33.

<sup>37</sup> Elena Lourie, "Anatomy of Ambivalence," 51 and 56, or "Free Moslems in the Balearics under Christian Rule in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 624–49 (646); John Boswell, *Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven, 1977), 382–83; or Dominique Urvoy, *Penser l'Islam: Les Présupposés islamiques de l' "Art" de Lull* (Paris, 1980), 152–53.

<sup>38</sup> Cited from Francisco de Bofarull y Sans, *Los judíos en el territorio de Barcelona (siglos X al XIII): Reinado de Jaime I, 1213–1276* (Barcelona, 1910), 76–77: "quia in predicationibus que vobis fiebant extra Calla judaica et juderias fiebant vobis pluries per christianos vituperium et dedecus. Et si predicti fratres vel alii intus Sinagogas vestras vos voluerint predicare, non veniant ad ipsas Sinagogas vel juderias ad ipsam predicationem faciendam cum multitudine populi Christiani, set tantum cum decem probis hominibus christianibus et non cum pluribus."

eteries.<sup>39</sup> The decree of November 9 neatly demonstrates how the incursions of the friars constituted one more among the many other encumbrances placed on the Jews' public and private activities.

These royal edicts clearly recognize that Jews were suffering abuse from Christian mobs outside their neighborhoods, but none the less allow the preachers to bring up to ten companions into the *calls*. Why did the decrees not ban mobs or companions completely? Perhaps the preachers needed bodyguards, although attacks on Christian clergy would surely have provoked worse violence. A more likely explanation lies in the simple reluctance of Jews and Muslims to attend Christian preaching. The royal decrees, beginning in 1243, allowed coercion precisely in response to this difficulty. The Christian mobs or companions mentioned in this legislation were probably the agents of this compulsion. They may even have belonged to organized lay groups, like the confraternities formed at this time in Northern Italy to assist the Inquisition.<sup>40</sup> The new requirement that "upright men" (*probi homines*) perform this function gives it at least a nominally official character. The phrase *probi homines* is admittedly a legal formula, like the medieval English term "good men and true." But the *probi homines*, the "class of proto-patricians who derived power from wealth" and dominated Catalan-Aragonese town life from the twelfth century on, often served as official "peace-makers" (*paciarü* or *paers*).<sup>41</sup> Hence, their appearance in documents regarding conflict between Christians and Jews or Muslims is hardly surprising. References to their presence appear in most subsequent decrees and show how existing institutions of town governance tried to manage or at least accommodate the inevitably antagonistic exercise of compulsory evangelization. As companions to evangelist preachers, the *probi homines* probably helped ensure (or better, enforce) the orderly assembly of an audience.

<sup>39</sup> Ambrosio de Saldes, "La Orden Franciscana en el Antiguo Reino de Aragón: Colección Diplomática," *Revista de Estudios Franciscanos*, 2 (1908), 26–30, 94–96, 148–51, 219–22, 290–94, 357–60, 402–7, 472–75, 542–45, 596–99, and 727–30 (596–97).

<sup>40</sup> See N. J. Housely, "Politics and Heresy in Italy: Anti-Heretical Crusades, Orders, and Confraternities, 1200–1500," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 193–208.

<sup>41</sup> Thus characterized by T. N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford, 1986), 44 and 76. Cf. the conjoined use of the terms *probi homines* and *paciarü* in royal legislation such as the decrees of the Corts of 1311 in *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1896), 208, 210.

*Ramon Llull and Compulsory Evangelization*

The evidence reviewed thus far gives some idea of the complex social, economic, and political circumstances involved in mandatory proselytizing of Jews and Muslims by the early 1270s when Ramon Llull, after a decade of study and meditation, began to write his first apologetic and controversialist works. Neither Llull's *Vita* nor his own writings explicitly state that he proselytized local Jews or Muslims during that decade.<sup>42</sup> However, the missionary proposals from his earliest writings include emphatic recommendations regarding the compulsory evangelization of infidels living in Christian territories. For example, the *Libre de contemplació* of 1273–74 explains the following plan:

Jesus Christ has given to all Christians the power to contrain some Muslims who are captive and some Jews, and by force to teach them our religion . . . for just as a child must learn a lesson from fear of the teacher, [so] the infidels through fear of Christians learn and understand, [and thus] it necessarily happens that their will moves them or some of them toward the Christians, just as it moves all Christians to accept what the meaning of Jesus Christ teaches about Jesus Christ: thus, the infidels who join the Christians would convert others.<sup>43</sup>

It is difficult to discover in this passage any indication of the courtesy, good-will, respect, or tolerance for non-Christians that some modern scholars find in Llull's arguments.<sup>44</sup> Llull clearly felt no repugnance, E. Colomer observes, for this "uso de la época," although he typically maintains that unbelievers should not be compelled to accept Christianity.<sup>45</sup> Llull's position is no more unusual than that of

<sup>42</sup> Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 200 suggests that he did conduct debates with non-Christians.

<sup>43</sup> *Obres*, 8:374 (chap. 346, par. 18): "[Jhesu Crist] ha donat poder a [tots los cristians] que destrenya[n] alguns sarraïns qui son catius e alguns jueus, e per forsa lur fassa mostrar la nostra creensa . . . car si axí com l infantó qui per paor del mestre ha a retre la lissó, los infeels aprenien e entenien per paor de [tots los cristians], covenria de necessitat que la [potencia motiva] moguéss els o algún d ells a [tots los cristians], axí com mou [tots los cristians] a reebre so que la [significació de Jhesu Crist] demostra de [Jhesu Crist]: on, los infeels qui entrarien en [tots los cristians] ne convertirien d altres." The terms in brackets resolve the abbreviations used in Llull's original text.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism*, 24 or José María Millás Vallicrosa in his edition of Llull's *El "Liber Predicationis contra judeos"* (Madrid, 1957), 20.

<sup>45</sup> Colomer, "Ramón Llull y el judaísmo," 10:42. For example, Llull's *Ars iuris* of 1285–87 declares that "infideles non debent compelli venire ad fidem catholicam



canon lawyers who considered forced baptism illegal, yet irreversible.<sup>46</sup> This passage from the *Libre de contemplació* exemplifies Llull's usual methods of argument in the way that it correlates the unequal roles of student and master with universal human psychological processes. It proposes that just as schoolchildren fear their teacher, so non-Christians learn and understand with fear from Christians; therefore the will draws non-Christians toward Christians, just as it draws Christians to understand Christ. On the one hand, this comparison with schoolchildren and their teacher takes for granted the practical necessity of compulsion or "fear" in bringing Jewish or Muslim audiences to hear Christian preaching. At the same time, it also assumes a hierarchical and deterministic process of intellectual and spiritual enlightenment in which benighted infidels necessarily aspire to reach the truths already attained by Christians. Llull's *Libre de demostracions* of 1274–78 explains that for Christians and infidels alike "the glorious incarnation of Our Lord God Jesus Christ is as desirable naturally in a new creation, as the Supreme Good is to the lesser in the existing creation."<sup>47</sup> This passage expresses superlatively Llull's optimistic conviction that Christian doctrine is most true, and therefore most attractive to the human mind.<sup>48</sup> This conviction underlies Llull's frequent recommendation that Jews or Muslims instructed in Christian doctrine serve as evangelists among their former co-religionists. Llull presumably believed that these converts would possess social and cultural, as well as spiritual, advantages, but did not recognize the acute antagonism that typically arose between them and Jewish or Muslim audiences. Those conflicts frequently appear in the following century (as discussed below).

Llull's proposal in the *Libre de contemplació* does recognize that converts often faced the economic and social hardships mentioned in the royal edict of 1243. He explains that "many Jews would convert if they had a way to live, and many Muslims if they were not scorned

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inviti"; ed. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 228.

<sup>46</sup> See Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 73.

<sup>47</sup> *Obres*, 15:411 (book 4, prolog): "la gloriosa encarnació de nostre Senyor Deus Jhesu Crist es apetible enaxí naturalment per recreació, con es lo subiran be al jusà per creació e sustentació."

<sup>48</sup> This passage concludes with a superlative explanation of Llull's views regarding the relationship of faith to understanding and the necessity of free will in religious belief, both for the learned who understand and for the simple who only believe. On these issues, see my *Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull* (Oxford, 1987), 120–33 and 296–308.

by all the Christians; hence, from this the mind understands that Christ's message teaches that Christ has given the Christians the power to provide a living and to respect the infidels that wish to join the Christians."<sup>49</sup> It is impossible to know whether Llull's proposals regarding these economic and social problems deliberately reprise royal or ecclesiastical legislation or simply testify to common recognition of their incidence. He treats the economic exploitation or social stigmatization of converts chiefly as an *exemplum* of failing virtue among Christians. The love of God and neighbor that originally motivates Christians to save Jewish or Muslim souls should not cease when conversion occurs. It is interesting that here and in later texts Llull consistently cites the economic injury of Jews and the social denigration of Muslims, as though each injustice pertained exclusively to each group. The basis for this correlation, whether as a received opinion or as report of actual circumstances, awaits inquiry.

In 1276 Llull began the constant traveling that would fill his remaining years. Throughout Europe he would have encountered support for compulsory evangelization of unbelievers. In 1278 Pope Nicholas III issued the widely circulated bull *Vineam Soreth*, urging social and economic protection for converts and ordering the mendicants to proselytize Jews. In 1280 Edward I required English Jews to hear Dominican preaching.<sup>50</sup> Renewal of this campaign in the realms of Aragon during 1279 generated further royal decrees that testify to the social, economic, and legal problems caused by forced proselytizing. An edict issued by Pere III on April 19, 1279 requires Jews to attend Franciscan preaching at the same time that it reminds local officials to prevent converts "from being harassed or assaulted by Jews or others."<sup>51</sup> Enterprising officials in Girona evidently sought to substitute fines and punishment for coercion by Christian crowds. Another letter from Pere III (July 9, 1279) prohibited this tactic and reminded these officials to prevent mobs from accompanying the

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<sup>49</sup> *Obres*, 8:374 (346.18): "molts jueus se convertirien si avien de que visquessen, e molts sarraïns si no eren desonrats per [tots los cristians]: on, per assò [l'enteniment del home] entén que la [significació de Jhesu Crist] demostra que [Jhesu Crist] ha donat poder a [tots los cristians] de donar vida e de tenir honrats los infeels qui volràn entrar en [tots los cristians]."

<sup>50</sup> A version of the bull sent to Franciscan officials appears in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. Giovanni H. Sbaraglia et al., tomus III (Rome, 1765), 331–33. On these events, see Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 82–83.

<sup>51</sup> Text ed. by Saldes, "La Orden Franciscana en el antiguo reino de Aragón," 597: "per judeos vel alios injuriis laccessiri vel oprobriis molestari."

preachers.<sup>52</sup> In a letter circulated to 23 Franciscan houses on October 8, 1279, Pere limits the friars' companions to three or four "virorum discretorum et gravium." Christian crowds (*populares*), the letter states, too often follow the preachers "for the sake of abusing, harassing, or insulting the Jews, rather than for the preaching."<sup>53</sup> These crowds evidently did not have conversion of the Jews as their immediate objective and would seem more likely to hinder, rather than aid, the friars' attempts to secure an attentive audience. Ramon Llull perhaps found these Christian groups equally obstructive to his work. They were surely as worthy an audience for his complaints about intolerance as the Jews or Muslims were for his apologetic arguments.

Llull's writings from the 1280s continue to recommend the basic tactic of preaching to Jews or Muslims assembled in their neighborhoods. In addition, they introduce an innovation not found in any contemporary legislation, the compulsory education of Jewish or Muslim children. His *Doctrina pueril* of 1283–84 explains that: "Many Jews and Muslims live under Christian control, and have no knowledge of the Catholic Faith; the Christians have the power to teach some young children of the infidels by force, so that they learn about it, and from this knowledge become conscious of their error; through this consciousness it is possible that they might convert and convert others. Hence, any prelate or prince who rejects this plan because the Jews and Muslims might flee to other lands, loves worldly goods more than honoring God or saving one's neighbor."<sup>54</sup> Shocked modern readers might wonder if this mandatory schooling alludes to the situation, mentioned in the royal decree from August 30, 1263, of those Jewish children forced to leave the *calls* in order to hear Christian preaching. Other parallels to Llull's scheme would not be hard to propose. At best it adapts the aristocratic custom of sending noble

<sup>52</sup> Text in Ambrosio de Salades, "Documentació franciscana (1267–1285)," *Estudis Franciscans*, 45 (1933), 130–49 (135).

<sup>53</sup> Text ed. by Salades "La Orden Franciscana en el Antiguo Reino de Aragón," 598–99: "potius propter illusionem, dampnum et vituperium judeorum quam propter ipsam predicationem."

<sup>54</sup> *Obres*, 1:155 (83.4–5): "Molts jueus e sarrains son en la senyoria dels crestians, qui no han conexensa de la fe catholica: e los crestians han poder que a alguns infants fills dels infeels la mostren per forsa, per tal que n agen conexensa, e per la conexensa agen consciencia de esser en error; per la qual consciencia es possíbol cosa que s convertesquen e que n convertesquen d altres. On, prelat y príncep qui aquesta manera no ama, per so que los jueus e los sarrains no fugen en altres terres, ama més los bens d aquest mon que la honor de Deu ne la salvacio de son proysme."

children to other courts for training.<sup>55</sup> At worst it refines papal decrees of 1277 and 1288 that extended inquisitorial jurisdiction to the children of lapsed converts (*relapsi*).<sup>56</sup> Kedar deems Llull's plan "incongruous," but not much less drastic than the position adopted by John Duns Scotus, who explicitly recommends force to procure Jewish or Muslim children for baptism.<sup>57</sup> Llull's scheme may also simply result from the synthetic correlation of ideas by which he often constructs new doctrines, a habit fostered by reliance on the "combinatory" mechanics of his Great Art.<sup>58</sup> In this case, the proposal to educate Jewish and Muslim children simply conflates the practice of compulsory evangelization with the example of schoolchildren offered in the earlier *Libre de contemplació*. Like Llull's other discussions of compulsory evangelization, the proposal in the *Doctrina pueril* continues with a pious tirade against economic harm to Jews and social degradation of Muslims. Here Llull again moralizes the abuse of converts by denouncing Christians who vilify or exploit converts as working against the triumph of the Faith.

A similar proposal for compulsory education of Jews and Muslims appears in Llull's *Libre de Blanquerna* of 1283. Besides supporting compulsory evangelization and economic assistance to converts, Pope Blanquerna commands the clergy entrusted with proselytizing infidels to train some Jews and Muslims in Latin and Scripture, with suitable penalties to ensure compliance. Once the students complete their training, however, the Church will grant them freedom and honors, so that they can convert other Jews and Muslims.<sup>59</sup> This second measure synthesizes a single solution for two major problems evident since the royal legislation of 1243: compelling Jews and Muslims to accept Christian instruction and assuring the socio-economic welfare of converts. Llull's suggestion thus synthesizes a broad range of similar secular and ecclesiastical efforts to assist or reward converts, as noted above. The uncertain success of these schemes perhaps fostered Llull's combination here of "stick and carrot" measures, in order to achieve more sincere compliance and con-

<sup>55</sup> Well described by Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London, 1989), 153–75.

<sup>56</sup> See Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 49.

<sup>57</sup> *Crusade and Mission*, 187, 193.

<sup>58</sup> A remarkable product of this habit is his proposal of speech as a sixth sense; see my "Affatus: Natural Science as Moral Theology," *Estudios Lulianos*, 30 (1990), 3–30 and 139–59.

<sup>59</sup> *Obres*, 9:269 (75.1) and 9:298 (80.5).

version. In its unspoken assumption that instruction will lead to conversion, this passage demonstrates again Llull's conviction that any adequately prepared mind will necessarily accept Christian truth. The Jews and Muslims selected for training are presumably those deemed most gifted. Llull's proposals usually assume hierarchical relationships in which greater truths, arguments or individuals always lead the lesser.<sup>60</sup> However, the fourteenth-century examples of converted rabbis who sought unsuccessfully to proselytize Jews do not suggest that the tactic of using learned converts as evangelists was necessarily more effective (see the case of Joan d'Osca, cited below). The superior moral or intellectual authority of such preachers clearly depended on social structures and cultural traditions whose support they lost with conversion.

Llull does anticipate the objection that authorities who promote compulsory evangelism will simply drive away Jews or Muslims, and thereby lose lucrative subjects of taxation. Contemporary records document well the concern of lords worried that further abuses of their Jews or Muslims would diminish their seigneurial revenues.<sup>61</sup> As in the *Libre de contemplació*, Llull moralizes this situation as an *exemplum* of misguided esteem for material over spiritual riches.<sup>62</sup> This general ethical criticism is as close as Llull comes to reprimanding efforts at restricting compulsory evangelization. He never specifically denounces the laws that prohibited force or the number of companions for evangelists, even though he obviously favors coercion and often recommends organizing groups of laypeople to assist in missions.<sup>63</sup> His deference to regal authority, on which he also depended for support and approval, perhaps necessitated his silence.

The *Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles* of 1292 refines even further Llull's proposal regarding compulsory instruction. This text recommends that Jewish students alone undergo forced education, with the Jewish community paying the expenses of their education.<sup>64</sup> The

<sup>60</sup> *Libre de fine* 1.2 (RLOL 9:256): "Conversis autem maioribus Saracenis minores converterentur per consequens per maiores." The allusion to conversion of major and minor propositions in logic suggests how Llull saw this relationship as a fixed rule or law.

<sup>61</sup> See e.g. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 332–33, 361; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 48; Robert I. Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 128; or Lourie, "Anatomy of Ambivalence," 58.

<sup>62</sup> *Obres*, 8:299 (80.6).

<sup>63</sup> E.g. *Blanquerna*, chaps. 61, 78, and 90–93.

<sup>64</sup> See the French translation by Ramon Sugranyes de Franch, *Raymond Lulle Docteur des Missions* (Schöneck-Beckenreid, 1954), 129–43 (136).

latter provision mimics the decree of 1263 that required Jews to pay the expenses involved in examination of rabbinic literature. Lull suggests that communities who refuse to provide students should incur heavier taxation. The students must also submit to examination in order to demonstrate their grasp of Christian doctrine. This provision for examination acknowledges the issues of educational authority necessarily involved in any lay teaching activity and anticipates the evaluations of convert preachers licensed in the fourteenth century (discussed below). The *Tractatus* also proposes that gifted Muslim prisoners receive compulsory education in Christian truth and Islamic error. Once returned to their native countries, they will spread doubt about Islam and foster interest in Christianity. The *Tractatus* again insists on safeguarding the economic welfare of Jewish converts, even recommending that local bishops ask Christians to forgive any previous usury by the converts. It recommends as well paying the cost of returning Muslim prisoners to their homelands. Again, whether Lull adapted these measures from specific legislation or simply regarded them as normative is impossible to tell.

The texts of Ramon Lull cited thus far clearly demonstrate that he supported the exercise of compulsory evangelization from the outset of his career. He even recommends extending this tactic to include the mandatory education of selected Jews or Muslims. Lull himself presumably tried to proselytize Jews and Muslims whenever opportunities arose, but the best-documented of these efforts all follow his first, unsuccessful missionary trip to Tunis in 1293. Lull also associated with some Spiritual Franciscan figures during the 1290s. Since some Spirituals propagated millenarian doctrines, it is tempting to see Lull's interest in proselytizing Jews as a response to the belief that conversion of the Jews would precede the Second Coming.<sup>65</sup> However, Lull's interest in evangelizing Jews clearly dates from the beginning of his career. Moreover, he wrote several tracts against the Spirituals and his other writings do not cite millenarian expectations as a reason to proselytize unbelievers.<sup>66</sup>

Lull's efforts to evangelize Jews and Muslims at home during the 1290s were more likely a reaction to the failure of his first mission abroad in 1293. Lull's experience in Tunis certainly illustrates how evangelism depended on institutions of political or social authority.

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<sup>65</sup> On the influence of this view, see Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 246–47.

<sup>66</sup> See Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism*, 53–55.

The *Vita* claims that Llull was on the verge of leading some important Muslims to accept baptism at Tunis when powerful local leaders interceded with the king to arrange his arrest. Hostile local mobs soon forced him to flee. The characters in this episode may be stereotyped figures from conventional moral or spiritual literature: the hatred of the king's counselors could illustrate the sins of odium or envy in any treatise on virtues and vices or mirror for princes; the abuse inflicted by local crowds on pious prophets is a commonplace of martyrologies and hagiographies.<sup>67</sup> The episode none the less recognizes that evangelism could not simply be a question of accommodation through theological or philosophical debate, but necessarily involved contending with relationships of cultural authority, social status, or political power that the missionary ignored at his peril.

It is thus hardly surprising that Ramon Llull sought to negotiate more favorable relationships for himself soon after his return from Tunis. At Naples in February of 1294, he received from royal authorities (acting for king Charles II) permission to evangelize the Muslim colony at Lucera. Llull's interest in proselytizing Muslims presumably continued his efforts from Tunis, but the kingdom of Naples also included substantial communities of Jews. The latter were at this time the objective of an intense inquisitorial campaign led by the Dominican Bartolomeo de Aquila, and this offensive perhaps fostered support for Llull's efforts with Muslims. Two Spanish clerics participated in evangelizing the Jews, although the relative impact of preaching and force remains difficult to determine.<sup>68</sup> The brief license granted to Ramon Llull specifies few conditions for his work.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism*, 26 accepts the account of this visit, but finds difficult to accept as "entirely authentic" the "dramatic scenes" that the *Vita* later offers for Llull's visit in 1307.

<sup>68</sup> See Joshua Starr, "The Mass Conversion of Jews in Southern Italy 1290–1293," *Speculum*, 21 (1946), 203–11; and comments by Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 85–89, and Allan H. Cutler and Helen E. Cutler, *The Jew As Ally of the Muslim: Medieval Roots of Anti-Semitism* (Notre Dame, 1986), 302–5. The situation in Naples contrasts with that faced by Jews in other communities, such as Assisi; see Ariel Toaff, *The Jews in medieval Assisi, 1305–1487* (Florence, 1979).

<sup>69</sup> Pietro Egidi, ed., *Codice Diplomatico dei Saraceni di Lucera* (Naples, 1917), 32 (with abbreviations expanded from Egidi's transcription): "Karolus, rex Ung[arie], Henrico Girardi, mil[iti], capit[i] Luc[erie] Sarr[acenorum]: Cum discretus v[ir] Raymundus Lul ad conferendum cum Sarracenis Lucerie de fide Catholica accedat ad eand[am] terr[am] Lucerie de n[ost]ra licencia et consciencia, specialiter dev[otum?] t[e?] firmiter et districte precipimus, q[uod] t[er]renus, eundem mag[ist]rum R[aimundum] habens super hiis ut convenit commendatum, prestes ei ad requisitionem suam super premissis, quotiens opus erit, favorem auxilium et consilium oportunum. Acentius curaturus

It asks local officials to aid and advise Llull, but also to ensure that he does nothing "contrary in word or deed" to the royal interest at Lucera. Apart from this, it says little more than a typical letter of recommendation or safe-conduct, probably because the secretaries in Naples possessed no precedent like the "license" granted to Friar Pau Crestià. The formulaic phrasing of this letter makes it difficult to know what aid Llull could actually expect or ultimately received from local officials. The instructions strongly imply that Llull could not expect an audience without aid from local officials. There is of course no way of knowing whether these would or could in fact compel any Muslims to attend Llull's presentation. The fact that Llull needed a license of this type does not strictly mean that he possessed no authority to evangelize Muslims, although the limitation of the license's validity to one year does suggest that this privilege was an extraordinary one. Finally, the license refers to Llull's activity simply as "conferring," without mention of preaching or disputing. This use of "confer" alone may indicate a deliberate restriction on the type of presentation that Llull could make.

This document is also one of the few from Llull's life that refer to him as a "master," although it does not specify the level or field of expertise that he possessed. This undifferentiated usage probably indicates that he possessed a level of learning like that found among the lay teachers who offered instruction in "logic and the arts" at grammar schools or more advanced academies. Lay teachers of this kind were becoming common in Northern Italy during this period, and perhaps in the Crown of Aragon as well.<sup>70</sup> Unlike the licenses granted in subsequent decades to Catalan-Aragonese convert preachers, this letter does not mention any prior evaluation of Llull's compe-

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ne, pretextu presencium, tractet aliquid verbo et opere d[omino] patri nostro contrarium atque nobis. Presentibus post annum unum minime valituris. Datum Neapoli, die I febr., VII ind., regni n. a. II."

<sup>70</sup> For Italy, see Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore, 1989), 3-41 and the extensive bibliography on 431-61; or Giovanna Petti Balbi, *L'insegnamento nella Liguria medievale: scuole, maestri, libri* (Genoa, 1979). For the Crown of Aragon, see the cases cited by Sanç Capedevela, "Les antigues institucions escolars de la Tarragona restaurada," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 12 (1927), 68-162; Josep Maria Casas Homs, *Ambient gramatical a Barcelona durant el segle XV* (Barcelona, 1971); A. Duran i Sampere and F. Gómez Gabernet, "Las escuelas de gramática en Cervera," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 17 (1944), 5-77; Carlos Luis de la Vega y de Luque, "Un centro medieval de enseñanza: el estudio de artes de Teruel," *Teruel*, 51 (1974), 95-114; and José Sanchis Sivera, "La enseñanza en Valencia en la época foral," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 108 (1936), 147-79 and 661-97; 109 (1936), 7-80.



tence.<sup>71</sup> The *Vita* and other documents indicate that Llull had undergone at least three examinations of different types by 1294: a Franciscan friar inspected his writings at Montpellier in 1274/75; Chancellor Bertaud of St. Denys interviewed him at Paris in 1288/89; and Franciscan Minister-General Ramon Gaufredi gave him a letter of permission to present his work in the Order's Italian convents in 1290. Llull subsequently obtained letters of recommendation from Chancellor Francesco Caroccioli and a group of masters at the University of Paris in 1310.<sup>72</sup> Llull presumably needed these assessments or approbations in order to validate his right, as a layman, to practice a vocation otherwise restricted to clerics. They very likely served as well to dispel suspicions of heterodoxy: the examination of convert evangelists recommended in his own writings, like those administered to such preachers in the fourteenth century, clearly involved evaluation of their orthodoxy.

In May of 1294 Llull solicited another license from Charles II of Naples, this time to evangelize Muslim prisoners held in the Castel dell'Ovo. This new permission obviously offered him an opportunity to practice the forced instruction of captives recommended in his *Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles*. The most noteworthy provision of these instructions is the requirement that the castellan be present during Llull's conversation with the prisoners.<sup>73</sup> The reason for this proviso is not obvious: it could be for Llull's own protection, for simple official observation, or for preventing abuse of the prisoners by other Christians present. This new license again refers to Llull with the undifferentiated title "master" and characterizes his activity with the words *conferre*, *colloquium*, and *collatio*. Only the latter term might mean something like a "sermon" or "homily." This repeated terminology implies that Llull was not preaching to or disputing with

<sup>71</sup> Even evangelists praised for their theological learning—such as the royal surgeon Romeu de Pal (licensed in 1344) or the "Bachelor of Mosaic Law" William of Paris (licensed in 1390)—had to submit to examination of their knowledge. See Riera i Sans, "Llicències reials," 122, 141–42.

<sup>72</sup> On the examinations at Montpellier and Paris, see *Vida*, ed. Batllori and Hillgarth, 18, 19 (par. 16, 19). On the letters, see the discussions cited in note 6 above.

<sup>73</sup> Egidi, ed., *Codice Diplomatico*, 33: "Karolus II Castellano castri Salvatoris ad mare de Neapoli, quod vulgariter d[icitu]r ca[strum] Ovi. Placet nobis et tue fidelitati presentium tenore precipimus, ut mag[ister] Raymundum Lulii, exhibitorem presencium, dev[otum?] n[ost]rum?, loqui et conferre cum Sarracenis in pred[i]c[t]o ca[stro] morantibus, te tamen presente ac audiente colloquium et collacionem huiusmodi, patiaris. Datum Neapoli, sub parvo sigillo n[ost]ro, die XII madii, VII ind."

the Muslim captives at Castell d'Ovo, but rather proselytizing them in a less formal fashion.

The *Vita* tells that Llull remained in the Kingdom of Naples for some time, seeking an interview with the pope. Early in November of 1294 Llull addressed a synopsis of his evangelical proposals to Pope Celestine V, shortly before the latter resigned the Holy See. Llull's petition recommends armed crusade, but says nothing about the compulsory evangelization of Jews or Muslims in Christian lands.<sup>74</sup> Llull resumed his efforts to proselytize these groups once his travels brought him back to Catalonia and Majorca. During his long absence from his native island, at least one other layman, the Genoese merchant Inghetto Contardo, had also attempted to proselytize Jews there.<sup>75</sup> The *Vita* implicitly presents Llull's new efforts as the aftermath of his failed attempts to gain support for his plans from the pope, the University of Paris, Philip of France, and Jaume II of Majorca.<sup>76</sup> By the time that Llull returned to the Crown of Aragon, king Jaume II had synthesized and extended all previous decrees regarding compulsory evangelization into a detailed edict issued at Valencia on August 27, 1296. The chief provisions of this long document include guarantees of economic, social, and legal well-being for any Jew or Muslim who converts to Christianity; penalties for anyone who insults converts; obligatory attendance by Jews and Muslims at mendicant preaching and full response to the preachers' arguments; and mandatory copying of Jewish and Muslim books for inspection by the friars.<sup>77</sup> Where the original decree of 1243 referred only to "preaching," this new edict of 1296 follows the edicts of 1263 and more broadly mentions "preaching, disputing, and conferring." Riera i Sans suggests that this more comprehensive characterization reflects better the actual experience of encounters with Jewish and Muslim audiences.<sup>78</sup> It may also indicate broader resistance to all

<sup>74</sup> See the excellent critical text of the Catalan version prepared by Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Un text català de Ramon Llull desconegut: la 'Petició de Ramon al Papa Celestí V per a la conversió dels infidels'," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 1 (1982), 1–46.

<sup>75</sup> A detailed account of Inghetto's encounter survives, and is available in two modern editions: *The Disputation of Majorca, 1286: A Critical Edition and Introduction*, ed. Ora Limor (Jerusalem, 1985); *Disputatio contra Iudeos/controverse avec les Juifs*, ed. and trans. Gilbert Dahan (Paris, 1993).

<sup>76</sup> Vida, ed. Batllori and Hillgarth, 25 (par. 31–32).

<sup>77</sup> Full text in Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval*, 2:110–11.

<sup>78</sup> Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 2:111: "predicando, disputando, conferendo"; Riera i Sans, "Llicències reials," 118.

forms of proselytizing. One aspect of that experience is notably absent from the legislation of 1296: the king's new decree says nothing about the number of Christians who may accompany the mendicant preachers and offers no prohibition on the use of force to compel Jewish or Muslim audiences. On October 3, 1296, Jaume II did extend to the Jews of Majorca the restrictions on force provided for Barcelona in 1268. However, on December 15, 1297, he definitively annulled all such privileges, but this did not deter Jewish or Muslim communities from continuing to request and receive exemptions from compulsory evangelization.<sup>79</sup>

In 1299 Ramon Llull visited the king at Barcelona and requested royal permission to proselytize Jews and Muslims in the Crown of Aragon. As he did in many other cases, Llull incorporated this petition at the end of one his writings, the poem *Dictat*, which he dedicated to Jaume II. The final lines ask "If I, Lord, teach the truth, may it please you to grant me the power throughout your kingdom, counties, castles, towns, and cities, to make the Jews and Muslims arrange for disputation on this our new *Dictat*. And Lord, humble king of an exalted crown, let us begin with great love in Barcelona."<sup>80</sup> The *Dictat* specifies "disputation," but the license granted by Jaume on October 30, 1299 characterizes Llull's activities as "preaching" and "expounding."<sup>81</sup> This document displays several details that seem peculiar to Llull's situation as a layman seeking to proselytize unbelievers. First, this license—like those granted in Naples five years earlier—styles Llull a "master," thereby affirming his authority to

<sup>79</sup> Riera i Sans "Llicències reials" 118 and 118–19.

<sup>80</sup> *Obres*, 19:273–74 (lines 277–86): "E si eu, sènher, mostre el ver, / placia us que m donets poder / per vostres regnes e comtats, / castells, viles e ciutats, / que ls serrayns faça ajustar, / e los judeus, al disputar / sobr' est novell nostre DICTAT. / E, sènher, per gran caritat, / humil rey d alta corona, / comencem en Barchinona."

<sup>81</sup> Rubió i Lluch, ed., *Documents*, 1:13–14: "Jacobus etc. tenore presencium notum fieri volumus universis presentes litteras inspecturis, quod nos concedimus et damus licenciam magistro R[aimund]o Lulii quod, electis per eum quinque vel sex probis hominibus et sibi adhibitis, possit predicare in sinagogiis judeorum diebus sabbatinis et dominicis, et in mesquitis sarracenorum diebus veneris et dominicis, per totam terram et dominationem nostram, et exponere judeis et sarracenis predictis fidei catholice veritatem, admissis religiosis quibuscumque ad predicacionem ipsam accedentibus. Nos enim damus per presentes, firmiter in mandatis, universis et singulis aljams judeorum et sarracenorum tocius terre nostre, quod ipsi, diebus predictis sub forma predicta, audiant et audire teneantur prefatum magistrum R. Lulii, et si voluerint, oportunitate captata, possint respondere ejus predicacioni et exposicioni, non tamem cogantur nec cogeri possint eisdem super premissis si noluerint respondere. Mandamus insuper universis officialibus nostris predictis quod predicta observari faciant et teneri. Datum Barchinone .iii. kalendas novembris. G. de Solanis, mandato regio."

teach, which friars or other clergy would not need to demonstrate. Within the document, this title implicitly distinguishes his vocation from those of both the “upright men” (*probi hominibus*) and “religious” (*religiosis*). The letter explicitly allows Llull to choose his own companions, something not specified in previous decrees. Their status as *probi homines* offers an intriguing index of Llull’s appeal to members of the Catalan urban ruling class, whose spirituality he expounds so fully in his *Libre de Blanquerna*. Second, this document is a general license for Ramon Llull, rather than a letter of instruction to specific local officials. Addressed to “whomever might read this letter,” the license assumes that his right to evangelize unbelievers was not otherwise obvious to the public at large. Nothing in the document suggests that Llull had become a Franciscan tertiary or enjoyed any other religious authority to preach.<sup>82</sup> Third, the license states that Llull will “preach” and “expound” Catholic doctrine to Jews and Muslims. It does not mention “disputation,” although it does allow Llull’s audiences to “respond,” which suggests some kind of controversial exchange. Academic and ecclesiastical regulation of disputation, like the licenses for Dominicans mentioned above, had perhaps become too strict to allow a layman like Llull to hold informal public disputations, even with unbelievers. By the 1340s, episcopal authorities in Barcelona were prosecuting tertiaries who publicly debated questions of theology.<sup>83</sup> Fourth, it includes a clause that guarantees clergy the right to attend Llull’s preaching, which evidently obliged him to submit to clerical supervision. Similar provisions appear in permissions granted to later convert preachers such as Romeu de Pal (discussed below). Llull’s license of 1299 may well signal a growing trend toward clerical oversight of lay missionary endeavors, just as clergy were increasingly supervising the prayers and sermons conducted by confraternities, third orders, guilds and other lay pious groups.<sup>84</sup> Or it may reflect the clergy’s assertion of

<sup>82</sup> References to Llull as a tertiary first appear in the fourteenth century. Modern scholars have simply accepted this affiliation: e.g. R. I. Burns, “Muslims in the Thirteenth-Century Realms of Aragon: Interaction and Reaction,” in *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), 57–102 (80). Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 200 even states that Llull joined the Third Order during the 1290s. On the origin of Llull’s identification as a tertiary, see my “Ramon Llull’s Conversion to Penitence,” *Mystics Quarterly*, 16 (1990), 179–92 (187–88).

<sup>83</sup> See J. N. Hillgarth and Giulio Silano, eds., *The Register Notule communium 14 of the Diocese of Barcelona (1345–1348)* (Toronto, 1983), 110.

<sup>84</sup> See Gian Piero Pacini, “La predicazione laicale nelle confraternite,” *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa*, n.s. 9 (1980), 13–27.

their authority in the face of criticism by lay missionaries: the Genoese merchant Inghetto Contardo suggests that he is a better proselytizer than any priests or monks.<sup>85</sup> The official relationship with local clergy indicated by this provision in Lull's license certainly contrasts with the personal affiliations intimated by references to sympathetic religious "associates" in his *Vita* and correspondence.<sup>86</sup> Jaume's letter of 1299 displays well the constraints that Lull faced when working within the limitations of general, institutional policies, in contrast to the latitude for action that he anticipated from direct, private appeals to authorities, as in his *Dictat*.

Several other features of Lull's license offer interesting insights into the development of royal legislation regarding compulsory evangelization. First, the limitation of five or six companions is more stringent than the ten *probi homines* allowed in the decree issued by Jaume I in 1268 (cited above). This increased restriction evidently marks increased concern about the potential for civic strife caused by zealous Christian evangelists in Jewish or Muslim neighborhoods. At the very least, this restriction of Lull's companions demonstrates the claim of secular authorities to regulate the conduct of lay evangelism. Second, Lull's license explicitly forbids the use of force or compulsion to gain a response from his audiences.<sup>87</sup> Since Lull's license is valid throughout the realms of Aragon, this prohibition does not simply respect the exemption granted to a particular community of Jews or Muslims. Lull's limited privilege corresponds to his status as a layman, lacking the authority of a clergy. It may also signal tacit acceptance of the failure of the new methodology initiated in the Barcelona debate of 1263. Finally, Lull's permission restricts the occasions when he may preach or expound to Jews and Muslims: in synagogues only on Saturdays and Sundays and in mosques only on Fridays and Sundays. These provisions anticipate similar ones in Lull's later proposals and in royal legislation of 1328, issued in response to complaints from the Jews of Girona and Barcelona.<sup>88</sup> This limitation once more implies an increasing concern to control or at least

<sup>85</sup> See Ora Limor, "Missionary merchants," 40.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. the "clericus" who accompanied him to Cyprus (*Vida*, ed. Batllori and Hillgarth, 26 [par. 34]) or the Franciscan Simó de Puigcerdà whose aid as amanuensis Lull sought from Tunis in 1315 (RLOL 2:402-5).

<sup>87</sup> For this reason Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 196 considers Lull's license a re-statement of the statute of 1243.

<sup>88</sup> Riera i Sans, "Llicències reials," 121.

manage the occasions for conflict between evangelists and Jewish or Muslim audiences.

The *Vita* says nothing about Llull's visit to Barcelona, even though the *Dictat* specifically proposes that he begin evangelizing Jews and Muslims there. Instead the *Vita* tells how he returned to Majorca and "tried through disputation and preaching to lead the many Muslims living there on the path of salvation."<sup>89</sup> A. Bonner conjectures that the permission granted by Jaume II of Aragon applied to Majorca as well, since he was overlord of the island after 1298, and thus the *Vita* documents Llull's actual use of his royal license obtained in 1299.<sup>90</sup> The claim about the size of Llull's potential audience poses the interesting questions of exactly how many practicing Muslims still lived on Majorca, and what juridical status they possessed.<sup>91</sup> Did Llull think that the conditions of Majorcan Muslims made them more receptive to proselytizing? During his initial decade of private study on the island he bought a Muslim slave to teach him Arabic. Some of his previous proposals and his recent efforts at Naples involved Muslim prisoners. "Captive audiences" of this sort were undoubtedly more tractable. One of the curiosities of Llull's career is that he evidently spent little or no time in the Kingdom of Valencia, where the most numerous and active population of free Muslims lived in his day.<sup>92</sup>

Wherever Ramon Llull sought to proselytize Jews or Muslims in the Crown of Aragon, he evidently encountered little success. The frustration of this failure appears in subsequent writings, such as his *Liber de praedicatione* of 1304. In a sermon from this work Llull swears that in his discussions with Jews or Muslims he has never met one that correctly understood Christian belief.<sup>93</sup> Yet this frustration cer-

<sup>89</sup> *Vida*, ed. Batllori and Hillgarth, 25 (par. 32): "conatus est tam disputationibus quam etiam praedicationibus trahere Saracenos innumeros ibi morantes in viam salutis."

<sup>90</sup> *Selected Works*, 39. Riera i Sans, "Llicències reials," 120 rejects this suggestion. Cf. the incidental comments by Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism*, 18 n. 83, 28, 49 n. 8.

<sup>91</sup> Lourie offers an optimistic answer in "Free Moslems." R. I. Burns, following the researches of Dufourcq and Soto Company, offers a more limited assessment in "Muslims in the Thirteenth-Century Realms of Aragon," 67.

<sup>92</sup> There are no detailed discussions of the Valencian situation in any of Llull's writings and no mention at all of the city or kingdom in his Catalan texts; see Miquel Colom Mateu, *Onomàstica Lul·liana: l'antroponímia i la toponímia dins l'obra catalana de Ramon Llull* (Majorca, 1977).

<sup>93</sup> RLOL 4:103-4 (Sermon 26 "De dominica infra octavas Ascensionis"): "in fide mea, quod ego nunquam inveni Iudaeum vel Saracenum, qui mihi sciret dicere

tainly did not diminish Llull's missionary zeal: during 1301 and 1302 he made a trip to the Eastern Mediterranean, hoping to proselytize Orthodox Christians. The *Vita* reports that the king of Cyprus (Henry II Lusignan) ignored Llull's fervent request to arrange forced preaching and disputation with unbelievers and schismatics in his realm.<sup>94</sup> At Barcelona in August 1305 Llull produced his only writing designed solely for Jewish audiences, the *Liber Predicationis contra judeos*. Llull states that his work offers fifty sermons for the Sundays of the year; hence Millás Vallicrosa, the modern editor of the text, surmises that it was designed as a manual for use in ongoing compulsory evangelization. Riera i Sans finds, however, no evidence that the mendicants ever conducted weekly forced preaching.<sup>95</sup> Llull's text focuses on questions of Scriptural interpretation often debated in controversial disputations with Jewish theologians, but the peculiarities of his idiosyncratic methods, more than the acuity of his arguments, probably confounded his adversaries. Llull's arguments tend to misrepresent Jewish positions in any case, perhaps because they rely too heavily on reasonings designed to counter specifically Islamic beliefs.<sup>96</sup>

Llull's *Liber de fine* of 1305, his most extended proposal for combining missions with crusades, renews his call for compulsory evangelization of Jews and of Muslim prisoners. He recommends submitting the "best" Muslims captured in battle to disputation with specially trained Christian missionaries and to instruction through Christian apologetic writings (including Llull's own *Liber de gentili*). Once released, these prisoners will explain—presumably without distortion—Catholic doctrine to other Muslims.<sup>97</sup> Regarding the Jews, Llull urges that clerics "who have learned and studied Hebrew should preach in synagogues on Sundays and also on Saturdays, and should dispute with Jews in their homes, taking authorities from the Old Testament, in which the New is prefigured, and reformulating these authorities as necessary arguments."<sup>98</sup> Llull again suggests several of his

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fidem nostram recto modo, secundum quod credimus et tenemus. Immo credunt, quod nos teneamus fidem nostram per modum alium, quam tenemus. Et ideo nesciunt modum, per quem tenemus fidem nostram. Istud enim bene scio, quia cum ipsis steti diu in partibus transmarinis, et locutus fui de ista materia cum maioribus et intelligentioribus Saracenis."

<sup>94</sup> *Vida*, ed. Batllori and Hillgarth, 25–26 (par. 34).

<sup>95</sup> *El "Liber Predicationis contra judeos,"* 60–61; Riera i Sans, "Llicències reials," 119 n. 22.

<sup>96</sup> See Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 209–10 and Thomas Burman, "The Influence of the *Apology of Al-Kindi* and *Contrarietas alfolica* on Ramon Llull's Late Religious Polemics, 1305–1313," *Mediaeval Studies*, 53 (1991), 197–228.

<sup>97</sup> RLOL 9:283 (2.6).

<sup>98</sup> RLOL 9:259 (1.3): "qui hebraicum addicerent et audirent, in diebus dominicis

own writings that offer “necessary arguments” suitable for this task. His proposal limits compulsory evangelization on Jewish and Muslim holy days, as do his license of 1299 and subsequent royal legislation of 1328. The students mentioned presumably come from mendicant missionary *studia* such as the Dominican school still functioning at Xàtiva.<sup>99</sup> This detail implies that Llull had abandoned the idea of using Jewish converts as evangelists, but it seems unnecessary to send learned Christian preachers to dispute with ordinary Jews in their homes. Existing Catalan-Aragonese legislation would discourage such intrusive proselytizing, in any case. Llull again appends to his proposal an acknowledgement of the economic hardship faced by converts who must repay interest earned in moneylending. His remarks imply that concern for this problem constitutes a misplaced preoccupation with enjoying material goods, rather than using them for the spiritual service of God.

Ramon Llull, notes Jeremy Cohen, “did not convert many Jews to Christianity,” either through rational argument or forced preaching.<sup>100</sup> There is evidence to show that some Catalan-Aragonese Jews and Muslims did fulfill Llull’s dream by converting and becoming Christian evangelists. On June 25, 1308 the Muslim convert Jaume Pere received a royal letter that proclaimed his right to retain all material possessions and threatened harsh penalties for anyone attempting to infringe that right. Almost incidentally, the letter promises the convert’s freedom to “go freely throughout our land and to preach faith in Christ to Muslims and Jews as the opportunity arises.”<sup>101</sup> It is doubtful that a converted Muslim would really have much interest or success in preaching to Jews, given the level of mutual hostility or acrimony that often appeared between the two populations.<sup>102</sup> Jaume Pere is, however, especially noteworthy as the first example of a lay convert seeking permission to evangelize former co-religionists, a practice repeatedly documented in the later fourteenth century. The intense

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praedicarent in synagogis, et in diebus etiam sabbatinis, et cum Judaeis et in eorum domibus disputarent, colligendo auctoritates Veteris testamenti, in quibus Testamentum novum est figuratum, et quod illas auctoritates reducant ad necessarias rationes.”

<sup>99</sup> J. M. Coll “Escuelas de lenguas orientales en los siglos XIII y XIV: Período postray-mundiano,” *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 18 (1945), 59–87 (77).

<sup>100</sup> *Friars and the Jews*, 226.

<sup>101</sup> Riera i Sans, “Llicències reials,” 132: “libere per terram nostram ire et fidem Christi sarracenis et judeis cum sibi oportunum fuerit predicare.”

<sup>102</sup> Riera i Sans, “Llicències reials,” 120. Cf. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 68, 368, 374–75, and 431; or Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews*, 22.



conflicts generated by the activities of these convert preachers is already clear from a decree of June 28, 1309 in which Jaume II of Majorca forbids converts from entering Jewish neighborhoods, even for purposes of evangelism.<sup>103</sup>

The persistence, if not the proliferation, of strife caused by the compulsory evangelization of Jews and Muslims eventually led Jaume II of Aragon to renew the original decree of 1243 at the General Corts of Barcelona in 1311.<sup>104</sup> It thus became part of the perpetual law of land. At this same time, Ramon Llull again urges the compulsory evangelization of Jews and Muslims in his writings. For example, his *Petitio Raymundi in Concilio generali*, written at Paris in 1311, explains that

Many Jews and Muslims are subject to Christians, especially in Spain. Therefore it is good, great, and true that Jews should hear preaching on Saturday and Muslims on Friday, because these are their holy days; and these sermons should be formulated as syllogisms for understanding. . . . If this preaching occurs continuously, it necessarily follows that these Jews and Muslims will come to the path of truth, because the Intellect finds more delight and becomes fuller from understanding than from believing. I have composed a book for this preaching, which is also implicit in many others that I have composed. Whoever opposes this provision should have ears and hear the Word of God (Matt. 12:30). "Whoever is not with me, is against me."<sup>105</sup>

The Scriptural citations, reference to Llull's own work, and explicit appeal to *fides quaerens intellectum* in this passage neatly summarize the highly rationalized character of Ramon Llull's entire evangelical enterprise. The insistence on "continuous" exercise of this scheme contrasts with his own intermittent and transient efforts, and somewhat desperately expresses his conviction that Christian truth must eventually conquer the intellects of Jewish or Muslim audiences.

<sup>103</sup> Ed. by Antonio Pons, "Los judíos del Reino de Majorca durante los siglos XIII y XIV," *Hispania*, 16 (1956), 163–225; 20 (1960), 3–54, 163–266, and 368–540 (438). On the range of privileges enjoyed by the Majorcan Jewish community, see David Abulafia, "From privilege to persecution: crown, church, and synagogue in the city of Majorca, 1229–1343," in *Church and City 1000–1500: Essays in honour of Christopher Brooke*, ed. David Abulafia et al. (Cambridge, 1992), 111–126.

<sup>104</sup> *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón* 1:218.

<sup>105</sup> RLOL 8:243–4: "Multi Judaei et etiam Saraceni sunt subditi christianis, et maxime in Hispania. Et ideo bonum, magnum et verum est, quod Judaeis predicetur in die sabbati, et Saracenis in die veneris, quia in illis diebus est festum eorum; et quod sermones reducantur ad syllogismum et ad intelligibile . . . Et si talis praedicatio

During the last years of his career Ramon Llull briefly appeals for compulsory evangelization in the conclusions of two works. The *Liber de novo modo demonstrandi* of 1312 asks king Frederick of Sicily and Arnald of Rexac, Bishop of Monreale, to mandate “that Jews be forced to understand this book and respond to the reasons in the aforesaid arguments.”<sup>106</sup> Like the license granted to Llull at Naples in 1294, this somewhat vague request may involve some kind of “conferring” rather than formal “preaching,” perhaps because the latter was not allowed to lay evangelists in the Italian realms. Llull’s *Liber per quem poterit cognoscit quae lex sit melior et verior*, composed in 1312 as a manual of arguments for Christian merchants to use in evangelizing infidels, concludes with a double request. It asks king Sancho and bishop Guillem of Vilanova to force Majorcan Jews to respond to the arguments in Llull’s treatise; it invites Christian merchants traveling to the Barbary Coast or Alexandria to use it in disputing with Muslims in those lands.<sup>107</sup> This attempt to promote theological disputation among popular audiences neatly synthesizes the high and low levels of mendicant activity, and reflects again Llull’s conviction that any properly prepared human mind (even a merchant’s) could grasp his “necessary reasons.” Llull’s particular attention to Jews in these two texts prompts many questions about their status as targets for conversion, relative to subject Muslims. Were Muslim audiences less amenable or suited to proselytization through “conferring” about Llull’s “necessary reasons”? Did Jews more often require official coercion before submitting to forced preaching? Was Llull catering to greater popular interest for proselytizing Jews?<sup>108</sup> Frederick’s sympathy for the Spiritual Franciscans again might induce some to find a connection between Llull’s focus on Jews and millenarian doctrines, but his writings remain silent on this issue.

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sit perpetua, necessario sequeretur quod tales Judaei et Saraceni venirent ad viam veritatis, quia intellectus magis se delectat et se impraegnat per intelligere, quam per credere. Ad talem praedicationem autem unum librum feci; et etiam in pluribus, quos feci, est implicata. Qui autem contra talem ordinationem est, habeat aures et audiat verbum Dei (Matt. 12:30). *Qui non est mecum, contra me est.*”

<sup>106</sup> RLOL 16:376 (colophon): “quod Judaei coacti intelligant istum librum, et respondeant ad rationes supra dictorum argumentorum.”

<sup>107</sup> RLOL 18:192 (epilog).

<sup>108</sup> Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism*, 129 states that Llull spent this year on Majorca preaching and disputing with both Jews and Muslims.

*Compulsory Evangelization in the Crown of Aragon after Llull*

After Llull's death in 1316, compulsory evangelization of Jews and Muslims certainly continued in the realm of Aragon, although the extent or frequency of this activity remains very difficult to assess. The contribution of the friars is especially hard to determine, since conduct of their mission required no special decrees. Notice of their activities only appears in royal documents concerning incidents where they provoked complaints or reprimands. During the 1320s Jaume II repeatedly admonishes mendicant inquisitors for incursions into Jewish neighborhoods.<sup>109</sup> In 1329, the Jews of Girona received a decree that prohibited forcing them to leave the *call* to hear mendicant preachers and insisted again on the limit of 10 companions for preachers; the king renewed this same decree in 1373.<sup>110</sup> In 1346 Pere ordered Franciscan officials to control a friar who excited Christians against Jews. Mendicant lectors, priors, or wardens appear listed as required observers in some licenses granted to preaching converts, such as the royal surgeon Romeu de Pal, whom the king authorized to proselytize Jews in 1344.<sup>111</sup> Notices about friars preaching become so rare, however, that Riera i Sans wonders whether the mendicants had largely abandoned the compulsory evangelization of Jews and Muslims in the realms of Aragon.<sup>112</sup> Dominican and Franciscan interest in missionary work abroad declines as well.<sup>113</sup>

The award of royal licenses to private individuals definitely increased after Ramon Llull's lifetime: at least nine would-be evangelists received permission to proselytize Jews or Muslims between 1320 and 1390. Others may have operated without formal authorization. The extant documentation displays several general characteristics. First, virtually all of the individuals seeking these licenses after 1320 are converted Jews asking permission to proselytize other Jews. The licenses granted by Alfons of Aragon to the converted rabbi Master Joan d'Osca in 1320 and 1328 are the last to mention Muslim audiences.<sup>114</sup> It would be useful to consider how the circumstances and

<sup>109</sup> Ed. Heinrich Finke, *Acta aragonensia* (Berlin, 1908), 859, 862, 870.

<sup>110</sup> Riera i Sans, "Llicències reials," 119.

<sup>111</sup> Ed. Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 2:81 and 1:129–30.

<sup>112</sup> "Llicències reials," 128.

<sup>113</sup> See the conclusions of Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation," 1433–34 and "Muslims in the Thirteenth-Century Realms of Aragon," 80–81, or Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 200–1.

<sup>114</sup> Ed. Riera i Sans, "Llicències reials," 132–34.

motives of these later convert preachers compare to those of such illustrious predecessors as Nicholas Donin or Pau Crestià. The absence of preachers converted from Islam suggests a marked divergence in the response of Jews and Muslims to conversion. Boswell finds few converts from Islam in the later fourteenth century.<sup>115</sup> This disparity underscores how different were the circumstances of Jews and Muslims. It ultimately suggests that the common association of the two groups in so much Christian legislation (such as licenses for preaching) is a convenient legal fiction whose complex social and cultural assumptions deserve much closer scrutiny in themselves.<sup>116</sup> Third, many of the licenses refer to their recipients as “masters” or “licentiates” in Hebrew theology and Scripture. These titles show how successful assimilation to Christian culture and society involved (or needed) a commensurate professional “conversion.”<sup>117</sup> Finally, the licenses to preach continue to alternate with royal decrees restricting the number of Christians present, requiring the presence of local officials, prohibiting the use of force, and limiting the evangelists’ activities to specific times and places. Riera i Sans concludes that the chief reason for these repeated injunctions was that convert preachers, impoverished by their adoption of a new faith, were practicing compulsory evangelization as an extortion racket. Various documents cite the Jews’ complaint that the preachers seek money (sometimes in the form of “alms”) in payment for ceasing their activities.<sup>118</sup> The decrees of 1243 and 1311 had done little to eliminate the economic embarrassment suffered by converts. The continued desperation of these Jewish convert preachers reinforces Ramon Llull’s identification of economic hardship with Jewish converts in particular. The abuses of the convert preachers suggest how difficult (and yet necessary) it would have been to provide them with the support advocated earlier by Ramon Llull. In response to further complaints about the nuisance of these preachers, Pere IV eventually prohibited con-

<sup>115</sup> *Royal Treasure*, 378–79.

<sup>116</sup> A difference underscored especially by Boswell *Royal Treasure*, 328 and Lourie, “Anatomy of Ambivalence,” 51–69. The range of these assumptions is clear from the wide scope of the Cutlers’ *Jew as Ally of the Muslim*.

<sup>117</sup> E.g. “Master” Joan d’Osca, “Master” Pere de Gràcia, and “Master” Guillem de Paris “licentiate in the Old Law” (Riera i Sans, “Llicències reials,” 133, 136, 141–43). Cf. “Master” Romeu de Pal, royal surgeon turned theologian (Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 1:129–30).

<sup>118</sup> “Llicències reials,” 121, 124–26.

verts from entering the *calls* altogether (April 25, 1383).<sup>119</sup> A few years later the tenor of Jewish life in the Crown of Aragon would change abruptly.

### *Conclusion*

Viewed within the context of the events outlined above, Ramon Llull's actual contributions to the development of forced proselytizing among subject Jews and Muslims appear very modest. None the less, his lifetime spent laboring for reform and evangelism represents superlatively the opportunities for intellectual and spiritual initiative open to Christian laypeople in Western Europe around 1300. His appropriation of academic knowledge and emulation of clerical roles demonstrate emphatically a new sophistication in lay learning and piety. His contributions to such practices as vernacular education and organized popular devotion deserve far more investigation than they have received to date. As appreciation of his significance for these endeavors grows, the limited relevance of his activities to official programs for compulsory evangelization becomes more evident. From the thousands of pages that he wrote and miles that he traveled, the proposals and adventures analyzed above comprise his only known efforts to promote forced proselytization among subject Jews and Muslims. His own recommendations and the licenses granted to him repeatedly manifest the political, cultural, social, and economic circumstances that constrained his opportunities to pursue such activity.

These constraints were, by and large, the same ones that faced the mendicant friars whose work Llull sought to emulate. Even though the Dominican and Franciscans enjoyed far greater institutional support, it is difficult to see how much it could help them in local synagogues or mosques, especially given the complex and difficult circumstances of *convivencia* in the Crown of Aragon. The social, political, cultural, and economic situation of each *call* or *aljama* was subject to the same ongoing, contested negotiation documented in the many cases cited above. One must extrapolate very broadly from this testimony in order to reach the conclusion that compulsory evangelization became "a regular feature of late medieval life, one that

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<sup>119</sup> Fritz Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien: Urkunden und Regesten*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1929, 1936), 1:541–42.

affected the Jewish communities of Western Christendom deeply.”<sup>120</sup> Instead, a more conservative assessment of the extant evidence finds that forced proselytizing occurred only occasionally and amidst other, more injurious abuses and chronic intrusions.<sup>121</sup>

Understanding the actual extent and consequences of compulsory evangelization requires acknowledging the disparate social, political, economic, or legal circumstances that must have determined its practice in every situation. This diverse context is obvious even in the zeal of tactics such as invading local synagogues or mosques: whatever the apologetic value of these confrontations might have been (and it is hard to imagine that this value was very great), these events certainly provided professionally ambitious friars with opportunities for personal or corporate gain, just as the disputations at Paris and Barcelona advanced the careers of Nicholas Donin and Pau Crestià. The advantageous impression of these undertakings on the political sympathies of particular Christian factions or leaders may consistently have outweighed their “negligible” impact on the religious convictions of Jewish audiences.<sup>122</sup> The potentially divergent economic and social consequences of conversion for Jews and Muslims, intimated throughout Ramon Llull’s proposals and by the disparate notice of Jewish and Muslim converts in fourteenth-century evidence, must have influenced the focus of the friars’ efforts. The ongoing legitimization (or de facto institutionalization) of secular and ecclesiastical action against Jews or Muslims—most powerfully in the Inquisition—inevitably redefined the value and aims of compulsory evangelization. Acceleration of these developments after 1300 could easily have led the friars to abandon direct proselytizing in favor of encouraging zealous laypeople like Ramon Llull or supervising eager converts like Romeu de Pal.

The range and diversity of these circumstances ultimately undermines any claim that Ramon Llull’s support for compulsory evangelization simply manifests the “religious intransigence” of a zealous

<sup>120</sup> Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 161.

<sup>121</sup> More concretely put: did forced preaching threaten the integrity of Jewish or Muslim communities more than capricious enslavement, extra taxation, extortion, pillaging, discriminatory commercial laws, public humiliation or any of the other injuries to which they were subject? Any attempt to estimating the impact of compulsory evangelization among so many other oppressions must face the historiographical problems well-noted by Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 324–28 and 360–63; or Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews*, 15–24.

<sup>122</sup> Chazan’s term in *Daggers of Faith*, 160; cf. Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 226.

proselytizer.<sup>123</sup> The *Libre de Blanquerna* does explicitly claim that strife between Christians and Jews would cease if the Jews simply accepted the faith presented to them through forced preaching.<sup>124</sup> Yet, Llull's own career amply demonstrates that dogmatic ideals, no matter how widely disseminated or fervently advocated, were not the only factors that affected his theory or practice of compulsory evangelization. Indeed, modern sensitivity to conflicts of class and exercises of power might lead one to see Llull's entire program simply as a "theology of colonization" synthesized from the hegemonic ideology of late medieval Christian feudalism.<sup>125</sup> At the very least, it should not be hard to consider Llull's effort as an intervention in the complex "social practice of difference" through which Christians, Muslims, and Jews alike rationalized, organized, and exercised their respective faiths.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>123</sup> As suggested by Colomer, "Ramón Llull y el judaísmo," 10:39, 45.

<sup>124</sup> *Obres*, 9:269 (75.1).

<sup>125</sup> Miquel Barceló, "Ramon Llull i el seu viatge banal a l'Islam," *L'Avenç*, 61 (June 1983), 71–75.

<sup>126</sup> In the same sense suggested by Michel de Certeau, "Une pratique sociale de la différence: croire," in *Faire croire: modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rome, 1981), 363–83, esp. 380–83.

## CHRISTIAN KALĀM IN TWELFTH-CENTURY MOZARABIC APOLOGETIC IN SPAIN

Thomas E. Burman

For several generations Islamicists have been debating to what extent Christian influences were at work in the evolution of the Islamic apologetic tradition known as the Kalām. Some scholars, pointing to the striking similarities between the questions asked, and the answers given, by both Christian theologians and the doctors of the Kalām, have insisted that the Christian influence was substantial. Others, stressing the fact that the problems addressed by the Kalām are inherent in the Islamic tradition itself, have minimized that influence.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever one may think about that intriguing question, I intend to argue that exactly the opposite process was at work in medieval Spain; that, in short, the Islamic Kalām came to exercise a noticeable influence over Arabic-speaking Christian apologists in the twelfth century, those apologists adopting approaches characteristic of the Kalām in order to defend their Christian beliefs. The Hispano-Arab philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroës), who died in 1198, mentioned in his works that there were “practioners of the Kalām” (*mutakallimūn*) to be found both “among the people of our religion [i.e. Islam] and the people of the Christian religion,” and in another passage wrote of such “*mutakallimūn* from among the people of the three religions which exist today.”<sup>2</sup> While Ibn Rushd did not indicate in any way

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<sup>1</sup> For a brief outline of these arguments together with relevant bibliography see Robert Caspar, *Traité de théologie musulmane*, vol. 1: *Histoire de la pensée religieuse musulmane* (Rome, 1987), 133–35. Caspar does not mention Harry Wolfson’s *The Philosophy of the Kalam* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976) wherein the Christian influences are particularly stressed; see esp. 112–32. See also Louis Gardet’s article on “ilm al-kalām” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, 3:1141–50 where the external influences are minimized. Please note that in this article I have adopted, with only minor changes, the Library of Congress system of Romanizing Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Rushd, *Tafsīr mā ba’d al-ṭabī‘āt*, book Lam, ch. 18, [exp. 1070a, 27–30], ed. M. Bouyges in *Averroës: Tafsīr mā ba’d al-ṭabī‘āt*, vol. 3 (Beirut, 1973), 1498 and 1503: “Wa-hādḥā huwa al-ra’y al-mashhūr ‘inda al-mutakallimin min ahl millatnā wa-min ahl millat al-naṣārā” and “Huwa alladhī ṣayyara al-mutakallimin min ahl al-milal al-thalāth al-mawjūdah al-yaum ilā al-qawl bi-annahu. . . .” Cf. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, 2.



what thinkers or which writings he had in mind, the twelfth-century apologetic writings of certain anonymous Mozarabs—the Arabicized Christians of medieval Spain—provide us with striking evidence that were indeed *mutakallimūn* “among the people of the religion of Christianity” in Iberia during the lifetime of that great Muslim philosopher.<sup>3</sup>

The Arabic word *kalām* has a variety of meanings ranging from “speech” to “discussion” to “argument,” but this word also came to refer to a certain kind of religious thought which Robert Caspar, following Muslim writers such as Ibn Khaldūn and al-Ghazālī, defines as follows: “The science which attempts to prove the dogmas of the [Islamic] faith by arguments taken from revealed tradition . . . and by rational arguments . . . in order to defend the orthodox faith against its enemies both external . . . and internal . . . and to answer the doubts of the believers.”<sup>4</sup> From this definition it is clear that the *Kalām* is primarily an apologetic tradition which stood in an intermediary position in the medieval Islamic intellectual world between the basic religious sciences of Islam, such as the study of Qur’ān and Ḥadīth, on the one hand, and the study of Greek philosophy on the other. The doctors of the *Kalām* were neither merely scholars of scripture nor pure philosophers. Their role was to use some of the tools of philosophy to help explain and defend orthodox Islamic teaching which itself originated in the Qur’ān and Ḥadīth. Among the great questions which the *mutakallimūn* addressed, therefore, were how the attributes of God related to His essence, whether the Qur’ān itself was created or uncreated, and whether God’s predestination of men’s actions as described in the Qur’ān precludes men having free will.<sup>5</sup> By at least the tenth century A.D. the *Kalām* had become a key element of the Islamic intellectual tradition, though it took longer

<sup>3</sup> For a brief overview of the history of the Mozarabs with abundant bibliography, see Mikel de Epalza, “Mozarabs: An Emblematic Christian Minority in Islamic al-Andalus,” in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), 149–70; but see also Pierre Guichard, “Les Mozarabs de Valence et d’al-Andalus entre l’histoire et le mythe,” *Revue de l’Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 40 (1985), 17–27 for a searching exploration of some of the central problems of the historiography of the Mozarabs, including useful criticisms of Epalza’s approach. Francisco Javier Simonet’s *Historia de los mozárabes de España* (Madrid, 1903; repr. Amsterdam, 1967) is still the best extensive history of the Mozarabs though it is very weak on the period after 1000.

<sup>4</sup> Caspar, *Traité de théologie musulmane*, iii.

<sup>5</sup> The Muslim scholar of religions al-Shahrastānī (d. 1153), for example, listed all these questions as among the most essential problems of Islamic religious thought. See Alexander Kriysh, “‘Orthodoxy’ and ‘Heresy’ in Medieval Islam: An Essay in Reassessment,” *The Muslim World*, 83 (1993), 51.

for this apologetic tradition to take root in the conservative intellectual circles of al-Andalus. After the collapse of the caliphate in 1031, and especially during the course of the twelfth century, however, the study of the Kalām became fairly widespread among Andalusī Muslim intellectuals.<sup>6</sup>

It is in just this period that we have evidence of the Kalām influencing the Mozarabs. Such influence of the Kalām on non-Muslim groups was by no means unheard of. So open to ideas taken from the Kalām were certain medieval Jewish thinkers who lived in the Islamic world that several of them, including the great Egyptian polymath Saadia Gaon, are frequently referred to as the “Jewish *mutakallimūn*” by modern scholars.<sup>7</sup> Harry Wolfson argued, moreover, that a ninth-century Nestorian Christian group of the Middle East intentionally adapted its Trinitarian theology to accommodate the language of the Kalām.<sup>8</sup> And we should not have to look far to find other examples of minority religious communities adapting their theological or intellectual approaches to suit the prevailing patterns of the dominant religious community.

The evidence we have of this Christian Kalām in Spain consists of two apologetic treatises written by Mozarabs in Arabic. Both are preserved, so far as we know, only as they are quoted in the pages of a rather lengthy early thirteenth-century polemic against Christianity written by an Andalusī-Muslim scholar.<sup>9</sup> The first is a brief and anonymous defense of the Trinity, Incarnation, and other elements of the Christian faith bearing the striking title of *Tathlith al-wahdānīyah* (*Declaring that [God’s] Unity is [also] a Trinity*, or simply *Trinitizing the*

<sup>6</sup> For an overview of the history of the Kalām with abundant bibliography see Caspar, *Traité de théologie musulmane*, passim. On the Kalām in al-Andalus see Dominique Urvoy, *Le monde des ulémas andalous du v<sup>e</sup>/xi<sup>e</sup> au viii<sup>e</sup>/xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle: Étude sociologique* (Geneva, 1978), 203 ff; and idem, *Pensées d’al-Andalus: La vie intellectuelle à Cordoue et Séville au temps des empires berbères (fin xi<sup>e</sup> siècle—début xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Toulouse, 1990), 165ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Daniel Lasker, *Jewish Philosophical Polemics against Christianity in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1977), 52.

<sup>8</sup> Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalām*, 337–49.

<sup>9</sup> This is a work ascribed to one Imām al-Qurṭubī and known as *al-ʿIlām bi-mā fī dīn al-naṣārā min al-fasād wa-awḥām wa-izhār maḥāsīn dīn al-islām wa-ithbāt nubūwat nabiṇa Muhammad ʿalayhi al-salāt wa-al-salām*, ed. Aḥmad Hījāzī al-Saqqā (Cairo, 1980). On the dating of this work and the difficulty of identifying its author see P. Sj. van Koningsveld, “La apología de al-Kindī en la España del siglo XII: Huellas toledanas de un ‘animal disputax’,” in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo: Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes, Toledo, 20–26 Mayo 1985*, 3 vols. (Toledo, 1987–89), 3:110–11 nn. 4, 5. In the following notes, I will refer to this work simply as “al-Qurṭubī.”

*Unity [of God]*).<sup>10</sup> The second is a fragmentary work of almost exactly the same kind attributed to an unknown Mozarab named *Aghushtin* (i. e. “*Agustín*”) and entitled *Maṣaf al-‘ālam al-kā’in* (*The Book of the Existing World*).<sup>11</sup> Both were probably written sometime between about 1130 and 1200, the former date being supplied by internal evidence which I will mention presently, the latter being the approximate date of composition of the Muslim work which contains them. While the modern Arabic editor of this Muslim polemic confidently identifies *Aghushtin*, the author of the second, fragmentary treatise, with the great Bishop of Hippo this can hardly be the case.<sup>12</sup> Not only can nothing in these fragments be found in St. Augustine’s works,<sup>13</sup> but these fragments include arguments which were clearly formulated to be used against Muslims; and in one case our *Agustín/Aghushtin* actually quotes a verse from the *Qur’ān*.<sup>14</sup> Rather, *Maṣaf al-‘ālam al-kā’in* is either a pseudonymous work, the name of *Agustín/Aghushtin* having been attached to it—as to so many other medieval works—to give it greater authority; or, more likely still, it is simply the creation of some otherwise unknown Mozarab named *Agustín*.<sup>15</sup> In fact, extant archival documents originating among the Toledan Mozarabs contain references to a priest named *Aghushtin* who could well be our man, though there is no way to be certain.<sup>16</sup> But whether or not the work was actually written by someone named *Agustín/Aghushtin*,

<sup>10</sup> On this work see my “‘*Tathlith al-wahdāniyah*’ and the Twelfth-century Andalusian-Christian Approach to Islam,” in J. Tolan, ed., *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, forthcoming from Garland Press, New York, and van Koningsveld, “La apología de al-Kindi,” 110–11, 122–29. The Islamic polemic in which *Tathlith al-wahdāniyah* is quoted (see previous note) is actually a point by point refutation of this Mozarabic tract.

<sup>11</sup> See al-Qurṭubī, 57–58. Paul Devillard, the author of a dissertation on al-Qurṭubī’s polemic, believed that part of what appears to be *The Book of the Existing World* is another work by this same mysterious *Aghushtin* which he refers to as “*The Refutation of Porphyry*.” I cannot see any warrant for this view which Devillard never really explains anyway; see his “Thèse sur al-Qurṭubī, Thèse de troisième cycle présentée à la Faculté des Lettres à Aix-en-Provence,” 3 vols. (Aix-en-Provence, 1969) 1:15–18.

<sup>12</sup> See al-Qurṭubī, 57–58.

<sup>13</sup> See Devillard, “Thèse sur al-Qurṭubī,” 1:15–18.

<sup>14</sup> See al-Qurṭubī, 143 where *Aghushtin* discusses the *Qur’ānic* account of Moses at the burning bush and quotes the words of God to Moses as recorded in the *Qur’ān*: “*Anā rabbukā*”; cf. *Qur’ān* 20:14.

<sup>15</sup> This is Devillard’s conclusion as well; see his “Thèse sur al-Qurṭubī,” I, 16.

<sup>16</sup> See document 966 in Angel González-Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1926–30), 3:300–301; cf. Francisco Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo* (Madrid, 1985), 24–25, doc. 21.

for the sake of convenience I will refer to the work's undoubtedly Mozarabic author as *Aghushṭīn*, the transliterated version of the name as it appears in Arabic.

Though both works contain several passages with Kalāmīc overtones, for brevity's sake I will focus here on one representative Kalāmīc argument from each work, starting with a rather rationalistic defense of the Trinity propounded by the otherwise unknown Aghushṭīn. This argument is rooted directly in the Kalāmīc dispute over the nature of God's attributes, this being one of the key issues that exercised the Islamic *mutakallimūn*. While God is usually conceived by Muslims as absolutely other, there being nothing in creation like Him, He nevertheless is described in the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth as the Seeing One (*al-baṣīr*), the All-Knowing (*al-ʿālim*), He Who Hears (*al-samīʿ*), the All-Powerful (*al-qādir*) and so forth. Now some of these names—and Islamic tradition, of course, says that there are ninety-nine—seem distressingly anthropomorphic: how can God, for example, be "Seeing" in any human, material way since he knows all things immediately and directly? There was a clear need to work out some explanation for how God could be described in these ways by the sacred texts of Islam and yet still be absolutely other.

One group of *mutakallimūn*, the Muʿtazilites—who in many ways were the founders of the Kalām but whose basic teachings were later rejected by mainstream Muslims—argued that the attributes which corresponded to these names of God were identical with God's essence. In other words, one may say that God has the attribute of seeing (*baṣar*) on account of which one refers to him as *al-baṣīr*, "The Seeing;" but this attribute is actually identical with God's essence: God sees by means of the attribute of sight which is identical with His essence. And likewise for the other attributes.<sup>17</sup> The orthodox *mutakallimūn*, the Ashʿarites, argued on the other hand that the names and the attributes related to them correspond to real things in God, but that these real things cannot be identified with his essence as the Muʿtazilites argued. Yet while the attributes are real things which cannot be identified with God's essence, they are also not other divine things beside God either. The Ashʿarites expressed this apparently paradoxical view in the following well-known phrase: the attributes of God "are not God, nor are they other than Him."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See Caspar, *Traité de théologie musulmane*, 152.

<sup>18</sup> Caspar, *Traité de théologie musulmane*, 178–79.

It does not take a lot of imagination to see how this Islamic dispute over the status of the attributes of God could be put to good use by Christian apologists. In proposing, as the Ash'arites did, that there were in God attributes which were not God but not different from Him either, Muslims religious thinkers were positing—at least as medieval Christians saw it—something that looked very much like plurality in the Godhead, and such a plurality seemed reminiscent of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, with its insistence on three persons who are paradoxically both distinct in person and identical in essence. In any case Christians in the Middle East began very quickly to compose apologies for the Trinity whose main concern was to argue that all the attributes which Muslims and Christians ascribed to God in common (and there were many) could be reduced to three basic attributes; these three basic attributes could then be identified with the Trinity.<sup>19</sup>

It is just this sort of Trinitarian argument rooted in the Kalāmī dispute over God's attributes that the Mozarab Aghushtin develops in *Mashaf al-ʿālim al-kā'in*. Though the Muslim author who preserves these fragments appears to have abbreviated and paraphrased this argument, it is not hard to identify its main thrust.<sup>20</sup> Aghushtin first points out that one cannot deny—meaning here that no Christian or Muslim could deny—that God

existed before all things . . . without beginning. Can you deny then that [God] is eternally omnipotent? If you affirm that he is eternally omnipotent, then you have affirmed that omnipotence is an eternal attribute. But if you say that it is impossible that God be so-called before there is something over which he has exercised power, then we respond with this question: "Can [God] be able to be able, or not?"

We must admit, Aghushtin asserts, that God is and always was "able

<sup>19</sup> See Rachid Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes: 750–1050* (Paris, 1985), 208. For a good example of this approach see the *Risālat ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ismāʿīl al-Hāshimī ilā ʿAbd al-Masīh ibn Ishāq al-Kindī wa-risālat al-Kindī ilā al-Hāshimī* (*The Apology of El-Kindi: A Work of the Ninth Century, Written in Defence of Christianity by an Arab*), ed. A. Tien (London, 1885), 54–57, the argument given here actually being taken from the earlier Arabic writings of the Syrian Christian Ḥabīb ibn Khidmah Ab, Rāʾīṭah; see his "al-Risālah al-awwalah (sic) fī al-thālūth al-muqaddas," ed. Georg Graf, in *Die Schriften des Jakobiten Ḥabīb ibn Hidma Ab, Rāʾīṭa*, 2 vols. (Louvain, 1951), 1:4–10.

<sup>20</sup> al-Qurṭubī, 81: "Wa-dhālīka anna-hu qāla baʿdu muqadimmat kalām yarjiʿu ḥaṣīluhu ilā mā nadhkuru . . ."

to be able" and so it is incumbent upon you "to describe him using [the attribute of] omnipotence (*qudrah*)."<sup>21</sup>

The same thing can be said, he then points out, about the attributes of knowledge (*ilm*) and will (*irādah*), so that it is clear that God is rightly characterized as possessing the attributes of omnipotence, knowledge, and will. These three particular attributes, however, are not like other attributes such as compassion (*ramah*), and judgement (*hukm*), since no one says that God is eternally compassionate, for there was a time before there were any creatures for Him to be compassionate toward. These other attributes only describe God's actions with respect to temporal creation and are not therefore eternal themselves. But while such attributes as compassion are not eternal, the previous three, omnipotence, knowledge, and will, are.<sup>22</sup> "So the three of them are," he concludes,

a name for one God . . . and they are not found separate from Him nor He separate from them. This is our teaching about the Trinity which the Gospel describes and requires to be believed and [so] names God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.<sup>23</sup>

This short passage is permeated with Kalāmīc language and overtones. The word used here for "attribute" is *ṣifah*, the standard Kalāmīc word for "attribute". More importantly all the attributes discussed here—not only the three which Aghushtīn identifies with the persons of the Trinity, but the others as well—can be found in the typical lists of attributes upon which the Muslim *mutakallimūn* focused their attention.<sup>24</sup> Aghushtīn, then, like earlier Oriental Arab-Christian apologists, has very carefully cast his Trinitarian argument in the Arabic terminology of the Kalāmīc debate on the attributes: he has asserted that only three of the attributes of interest to the Muslim *mutakallimūn*

<sup>21</sup> Aghushtīn in al-Qurṭubī, 82: "Lasta tankiru anna-hu kāna qabla al-ashyā' . . . bi-lā ibūdā'. Fa-hal taqdiru an tajhada anna-hu kāna abadan qādiran? Fa-idhā aqrarta anna-hu lam yazal qādiran, fa-qad aqrarta anna al-qudrah ṣifah azaliyah. Fa-in qulta anna-hu lā yajūzu an yusammā qabla an yakūna al-shay' al-maqdūr 'alay-hi . . . Qulnā a-fa-kāna yaqdiru 'alā an yaqdīra am lā?" And also al-Qurṭubī, 82: "Fa-yalzamuka waṣfuhu bi-al-qudrah."

<sup>22</sup> Aghushtīn in al-Qurṭubī 1. 5, 83.

<sup>23</sup> Aghushtīn in al-Qurṭubī 1. 5, 83: "Fa-thalāthatuhā ism li-ilāh wāhid . . . wa-lā tujadu hiya ghayra-hu wa-lā yūjadu huwa ghayra-hā. Fa-hādihā qawlunā fī al-tathlith alladhī waṣafahu al-injil wa-amara bi-al-imān bi-hi wa-sammā-hu . . . al-ab wa-al-ibn wa-al-r, al-qudus."

<sup>24</sup> See Daniel Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ash'arī* (Paris, 1990), 259–67.

are eternal, while the others are not; these three he then identified with the persons of the Trinity.

The particular triad of attributes that Aghushtin identifies with the persons of the Trinity—omnipotence, knowledge, and will—is itself worthy of comment, for it is not found in earlier Christian theology written in Arabic in the Middle East.<sup>25</sup> Nor, so far as I know, is it used by Patristic theologians in connection with the Trinity. Remarkably enough, however, this triad in its Latin form (*potentia-scientia-voluntas*) shows up frequently in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Latin-Christian theology, having been devised by Peter Abelard in about 1120. In fact, as I have argued elsewhere, both Aghushtin and the author of *Tathlith al-wahdāniyah*, who uses the same triad in the same way, actually borrowed it from such contemporary Latin sources and then translated it into the Arabic terminology of the Kalām as they constructed their Trinitarian arguments.<sup>26</sup> This partial reliance on contemporary Latin-Christian theology provides us with a *terminus a quo* of roughly 1130 for Aghushtin's *Maṣḥaf al-ʿālam al-kā'in*, but it also makes clear that the Christian Kalām of medieval Iberia was fructified by Latin-Christian theology as well.

Similar signs of Kalāmic influence are apparent in an argument in defense of the possibility of the Incarnation found in the other twelfth-century Mozarabic work that I mentioned above, *Tathlith al-wahdāniyah*. This argument is rooted in still another of the problems central to the Kalāmic tradition—whether or not the Qurʾān was created or uncreated. In trying to uphold the absolute unity of God, the Muʿtazilites and some other early Muslim schools of thought argued that while God's speech<sup>27</sup> is identical with His essence, in its external manifestation in the form of the written Qurʾān His speech is created. The mainstream Ashʿarites, on the other hand, argued that since the printed or recited Qurʾān contains eternal verities it is somehow eternal in whatever external form it takes.<sup>28</sup> Now in order to demonstrate that it was possible for God's uncreated word to exist in some created form, those who held to the Muʿtazilite view

<sup>25</sup> Haddad discusses the various triads used by Oriental Christians; see his *La Trinité divine*, 208–33; and see esp. his table on 232–33.

<sup>26</sup> See my “Tathlith al-wahdāniyah’.”

<sup>27</sup> The Arabic word for God's attribute of speech is *kalām*, the same word used for the apologetic tradition discussed here.

<sup>28</sup> See Caspar, *Traité de théologie musulmane* 1:153, 179; W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh, 1973), 242–45.

occasionally argued that this had happened in other instances, especially when God spoke to Moses in the burning bush, an event recorded in both the Bible and the Qur'ān (see e. g. Qur'ān 20:9ff, 28:29–30).<sup>29</sup> Al-Ash'arī asserted, for example, that the Jahmiyah, a very early group of *mutakallimūn* who believed in the createdness of the Qur'ān,<sup>30</sup> argued that when God spoke to Moses in the burning bush “the speech of God was a created thing which resided in a bush [and] the bush contained it.” Here therefore, was scriptural proof that God's eternal speech could be contained in a created thing. However, in refuting the Jahmiyah, al-Ash'arī pointed out that if they take this view,

it is imperative for them [that they admit] that the bush would be speaker of that speech; and it is necessary for them [that they admit] that a created thing addressed Moses . . . and that the bush said, “O Moses, I am God; there is no God but I, so worship me (20:14).” So if the speech of God was created in a bush, then a created thing said, “O Moses, I am God; there is no God but I, so worship me.”<sup>31</sup>

When the Mozarabic author of *Tathlith al-wahdāniyah* defends the possibility of the Incarnation he draws quite clearly on this Kalāmīc dispute over the significance of God's communication to Moses at the burning bush. After explaining why only the second member of the Trinity became incarnate, and then commenting on other aspects of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation,<sup>32</sup> this Mozarabic author argues at some length that the fact accepted by Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike that God spoke to Moses in the burning bush demonstrates that the Incarnation is possible. He begins by pointing out to his Muslim readers that “your book says that Moses

<sup>29</sup> See Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, 242–43; and Gimaret, *Le doctrine d'al-Ash'arī*, 310–11.

<sup>30</sup> The Jahmiyah were the followers of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān (d. 748); for more on them see Caspar, *Traité de théologie musulmane* 1:132–33, Watt, *The Formative Period of Islam*, pp. 143–47, and “Djahmiyya,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, 2:388 (by W. Montgomery Watt).

<sup>31</sup> al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibānah 'an uṣūl al-diyānah*, ed. Fawqiyah Husayn Maḥmūd (Cairo, 1977), 68: “Fa-za'amat [al-Jahmiyah] anna kalām Allāh makhluq ḥalla fī shajarah kānat al-shajarah ḥawiyah la-hu. Fa-lazimahum an takūna al-shajarah bi-dhālīka al-kalām mutakallimatan wa-wajaba 'alayhim anna makhluqan min al-makhluqin kallama Mūsá . . . wa-anna al-shajarah qālat, 'Ya Mūsá, innani anā Allāh; lā ilāh illā anā, fa-u'budnī.' Fa-law kāna kalām Allāh makhluqan fī shajarah la-kāna al-makhluq qāla, 'Ya Mūsá, innani anā Allāh; lā ilāh illā anā, fa-u'budnī.'”

<sup>32</sup> *Tathlith al-wahdāniyah* in al-Qurṭubī, 91, 97.



heard God, and He spoke to him directly.”<sup>33</sup> How can this be if, as Muslims believe, God cannot be apprehended by any sensation since He is not created or like any created thing? If you answer, he says addressing his Muslim reader, that God spoke to Moses personally (*bi-dhātihī*) then God would need some sort of speech organ, and to assert this would be anthropomorphism. If you say that God created the speech through which He spoke to Moses, then you have established that this speech, a *created* thing (*makhlūq*), said to Moses, “‘I am God; there is no god except Me, so worship Me (20:14),’ and you have established that the speech was a mediator between God and Moses.”<sup>34</sup>

Since there is no doubt about the veracity of the burning bush when it said “I am God,” so also, *Tathlith al-wahdāniyah*’s author argues a few pages later, there can be no doubt about the veracity of Jesus the Messiah when he said “I am God.” Indeed, “the body of the Messiah and his speech when He spoke with sovereignty are just like the body of the fire [in the burning bush] and [its] speech when it addressed Moses with sovereignty.”<sup>35</sup> The implicit conclusion of this argument, therefore, is quite clear. If God could be present in the burning bush, and if the burning bush could therefore say, “I am God,” and direct Moses to worship it, then He can be present in a man, and that man can equally say I am God and be worshipped: the incident of Moses and the burning bush recorded in the scriptures of both Christians and Muslims demonstrates that Incarnation is possible.

Like Aghushtīn’s Trinitarian argument, this attempt to demonstrate the possibility of Incarnation draws in part on earlier Oriental Arab-Christian arguments of the same sort; but, more importantly for our purposes, it is also redolent of Kalāmīc influence.<sup>36</sup> The Mozarabic author not only quotes exactly the same Qur’ānic verse (20:14) that the Jahmiyah used in their Kalāmīc argument in favor

<sup>33</sup> *Tathlith al-wahdāniyah* in al-Qurṭubī, 105 (cf. sūrah 4:164): “Inna kitābakum yaqūlu anna Mūsā sami’a Allāh wa-kallamahu taklīmān.”

<sup>34</sup> *Tathlith al-wahdāniyah* in al-Qurṭubī, 105: “‘Anā Allāh lā ilāh illā anā fa-u‘budnī’ wa-athbattun anna al-kalām wāsiṭah bayna Allāh wa-bayna Mūsā.”

<sup>35</sup> *Tathlith al-wahdāniyah* in al-Qurṭubī, 115: “jism al-Masiḥ wa-kalāmuhu lammā khaṭaba bi-al-rubūbiyah mithl jism al-nār wa-al-kalām idhā khāṭaba Mūsā bi-al-rubūbiyah.”

<sup>36</sup> For an earlier Oriental (Nestorian) Christian example of this argument see ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī (d. c.875), *Kutāb al-burhān* 7, ed. M. Hayek in his *‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, apologie et controverses* (Beyrouth, 1977), 66–69.

of the createdness of the Qur'ān, but he also uses Kalāmīc terminology. Like al-Ash'arī and the other *mutakallimūn* he refers to God's attribute of speech as His *kalām*. Furthermore, the basic argument that he pursues here is virtually the same as that proposed by the partisans of the createdness of the Qur'ān whom al-Ash'arī refuted: that if God's eternal speech could be contained in a created tree which spoke to Moses, then that same eternal speech could be contained in other created forms. The two arguments differ only in the specific end for which they were developed: the Jahmiyah (and others like them) used this argument to demonstrate the possibility of the uncreated speech of God existing in the created form of the written Qur'ān; the Mozarabs used this argument to demonstrate the possibility of the uncreated logos of God existing in the created—and eventually crucified—form of the man Jesus.

There are two important conclusions that may be drawn from these examples of Christian Kalām provided by the fragments of Aghushtīn's *Maṣḥaf al-ʿālam al-kā'in* and the anonymous *Tathlith al-wahdāniyah*. First, this elaboration of a Christian Kalām in Spain as attested by these two treatises—crude though it be in some ways—is a sign of a modest degree of intellectual vitality in the twelfth-century Mozarabic community of Iberia, a community which, because of the striking paucity of information about it, has appeared up till now to have been intellectually moribund, and has been characterized as such before.<sup>37</sup> Though we are still far from having a clear picture of the intellectual climate of this community, the existence of at least two practioners of a Latin-influenced Christian Kalām in the twelfth century indicates, at the very least, that the works of both Islamic and Oriental-Christian Kalāmīc writers circulated among the Mozarabs and that there were some Mozarab intellectuals capable of both understanding and imitating these earlier *mutakallimūn*. Second, this twelfth-century Christian Kalām—especially Aghushtīn's Trinitarian argument—has certain affinities with another apologetic project native to the Iberian Peninsula: Ramon Llull's *Art*, with its similar concern to demonstrate such Christian mysteries as the Trinity through the manipulation in various ways of the attributes of God—which he, of course, called “dignities.” I know of no evidence of any direct

<sup>37</sup> See David Wasserstein's description of the Andalusian Christians during the Taifa period in his *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002–1086* (Princeton, 1985), chapter 8, 224–46.

influence on Llull by the works discussed here, but it is worth bearing in mind that Llull on at least one occasion recommended to his readers the writings of certain anonymous "Arab Christians," and that both these treatises were still clearly in circulation in Spain near the time of his birth.<sup>38</sup> The existence of Christian Kalām in twelfth-century Spain, then, not only sheds light on the intellectual history of the Mozarabs, but it also may help clarify the origins of the Lullian *Art*.

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<sup>38</sup> See my "The Influence of the *Apology of al-Kindī* and *Contrarietas alfolica* on Ramon Llull's Late Religious Polemics, 1305–13," *Mediaeval Studies*, 53 (1991), 200.

## SENSE OF A MISSION: ARNAU DE VILANOVA ON THE CONVERSION OF MUSLIMS AND JEWS

*John August Bollweg*

Arnau de Vilanova (1240–1311), translator of Arabic medical works, physician to Boniface VIII and Jaume II of Aragon, and a proponent of spiritual reform in Christian society, stands at or near the center of cultural, religious and political affairs in the western Mediterranean in the years between the Sicilian Vespers and the Council of Vienne.<sup>1</sup> Among the trends to which scholars have sought to link this protean figure is that which Robert I. Burns aptly terms “the thirteenth-century dream of conversion.”<sup>2</sup> Arnau on occasion discusses conversion and mission in his fifty surviving religious writings, most often in connection with the apocalyptic conversion of non-Christians and without specifying the means by which it will be achieved. Attempting to supplement these vague references, scholars have read the *Allocutio super significatione nominis Thetragrammaton* of 1292, one of Arnau’s earliest religious writings, as an anti-Judaic polemic in a Dominican tradition of conversion through rational dialogue. Closer analysis of the *Allocutio*, however, suggests that it is, in fact, a defense of its author’s orthodoxy, most likely against an allegation of judaizing. The six instructions to the king of Aragon on the treatment of his non-Christian subjects in the *Informació espiritual* of 1309, one of Arnau’s last religious writings, are then the only strong evidence for a preference in conversionary technique. These suggest that mission

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<sup>1</sup> The principal secondary sources which survey Arnau de Vilanova’s career include Marcellino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1917), 3:179–225; Barthélemy Hauréau, “Arnauld de Villeneuve, médecin et chimiste,” *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1881), 28:26–126; Paul Diepgen, *Arnald von Villanova als Politiker und Laientheologe* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1909); and Joaquín Carreras Artau, *Relaciones de Arnau de Vilanova con los reyes de la casa de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1955). More recent discussions of his activity as an ecclesiastical reformer are Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages* (New York, 1967), 1:176–91; Francesco Santi, *Arnau de Vilanova: La obra espiritual* (Valencia, 1985); and Josep Perarnau, “El text primitiu del *De mysterio cymbalorum ecclesiae* d’Arnau de Vilanova,” *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*, 7/8 (1988–89), 7–22.

<sup>2</sup> Robert I. Burns, “Christian-Muslim confrontation: the thirteenth-century dream of conversion,” in *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the crusader kingdom of Valencia: Societies in symbiosis* (Cambridge, 1984), 80.

was subsidiary to his interest in the reform of Christian society, but to the limited extent that he considered the means by which general conversion would be achieved, Arnau favored a Franciscan model of exemplary evangelical perfection.

Belief in the possibility or imminence of the wholesale conversion of non-Christians was widespread in the thirteenth century, a belief shared by many of the most important and intriguing figures of the period. Thomas Aquinas wrote the *Summa contra gentiles*, for the doctrinal preparation of missionary preachers, at the request of the Catalan Dominican Ramon Penyafort; Penyafort's protégé Ramon Martí helped establish a network of Hebrew and Arabic schools in the Dominican *studia* of the Crown of Aragon, as well as presenting in his *Pugio fidei* a conversionary technique based on Judaic extra-scriptural authorities.<sup>3</sup> Francis of Assisi undertook missions to the Islamic world, and though his real aim was likely martyrdom in the imitation of Christ, Francis' example influenced many others—including the Catalan layman Ramon Llull, who several times set out to preach among Muslims and hoped to win converts by applying his "Art" of combining terms to produce necessary propositions, but was also willing to accept martyrdom.<sup>4</sup> The credence with which Christian rulers accepted rumors of Muslim counterparts willing to receive baptism indicates, as Professor Burns notes, the depth of the belief in the possibility of conversion.<sup>5</sup> Several factors combined to nurture the "dream of conversion," chief among them being the failure of the Crusades, the intellectual confidence of the learned clergy, and the apocalyptic undercurrents of the age.

Scholars have analyzed these widespread conversionary impulses from a variety of perspectives: Benjamin Kedar presents conversionary mission as an alternative or complement to crusade, while Burns details five methods by which Christians hoped to achieve wholesale

<sup>3</sup> On Thomas' *Summa*, see James A. Weisheipl, O.P., *Friar Thomas d'Aquino: His Life, Thought and Works* (New York, 1974), 130–44; for differing evaluations of Martí's significance which nevertheless agree on his technique, see Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, 1982), 126–69, and Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), 67–85.

<sup>4</sup> On Francis of Assisi's interest in mission and its influence on the Franciscan order, see E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington, 1975), 26–54; the best general survey of Ramon Llull's biography remains Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971).

<sup>5</sup> Burns, "Christian-Muslim confrontation," 86.

conversion.<sup>6</sup> In the model most germane to the study of Arnau de Vilanova's religious writings, E. Randolph Daniel distinguishes three "concepts of mission" as a function of mendicant spiritualities: philosophical or rational dialogue, exemplary evangelical perfection, and apocalyptic conversion.<sup>7</sup> Daniel indentifies the first two of these with the traditions of the Dominican and Franciscan orders respectively, although two, or even all three of them, may appear in the work of a single author, whether Dominican or Franciscan. The Dominican philosophical concept of mission is analogous to Burns's "metaphysical dialogue": basing conversionary preaching on the shared rational premises of the Hellenistic heritage, or, in the variant exemplified by Ramon Martí, on the extra-scriptural Talmudic authorities accepted by the Jews, language training and compulsory sermons are attendant features of the philosophical concept of mission. The Franciscan concept of mission, exemplary evangelical perfection, is similar to Burns's "fanatical confrontation": by conforming one's behavior as fully as possible to the example of Christ, one manifests an example which encourages Christians to reform and non-Christians to convert. The highest level of the imitation of Christ is, of course, to suffer death for the salvation of others, including while a missionary among Muslims. Daniel does not associate apocalyptic conversion, the expectation that a remnant of the Jews as well as other non-Christians, will enter the faith in the last days, with a particular order, though it was a common theme among Franciscan Joachites.

Arnau de Vilanova was neither a missionary preacher nor a member of either great mendicant order, but at different times in his career he had connections with both the Dominicans and Franciscans.<sup>8</sup> His opinions on conversionary mission have been associated exclusively with the Dominican tradition. Joaquín Carreras Artau originally made the case that the *Allocutio super significatione nominis Thetragrammaton*—with its author's reference to the influence of Ramon

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<sup>6</sup> Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches to the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), 159–203; Burns, "Christian-Muslim confrontation," 88, whose five methods are "secret conversions . . . fanatic confrontation . . . infiltration via metaphysical dialogue . . . diplomatic maneuvers toward winning a potentate . . . by conquest, to expose an Islamic region to public proselytism."

<sup>7</sup> Daniel, *Franciscan Concept*, 1–22.

<sup>8</sup> On Arnau de Vilanova's Franciscan ties, see Leff, *Heresy*, 1:176–91; on his links to the Dominican order, Harold Lee, "Scrutamine Scripturas: Joachmist Themes and *Figurae* in the Early Religious Writings of Arnold of Vilanova," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), 48, 56.

Martí and use of Hebrew learning to show that the Tetragrammaton (“yod-he-vau-he”) signifies the triune nature of God—places Arnau between the Dominican Martí and the Augustinian Bernard Oliver in a tradition of Catalan anti-Judaic polemic.<sup>9</sup> Following Carreras’ lead, Daniel sees the *Allocutio* as a polemic employing philosophical techniques and a reliance on Hebrew sources.<sup>10</sup> He goes on to interpret Arnau’s other references to missionary preaching, including a group of instructions in the *Informació espiritual*, as recommendations for a conversionary effort shaped by the Dominican concept of rational dialogue, concluding that Arnau combined elements of “the Dominican program of philosophic conversion . . . with the Joachite tradition of apocalyptic conversion.”<sup>11</sup>

A reexamination of the *Allocutio* and Arnau de Vilanova’s other remarks on conversion fails to support Daniel’s conclusion. There is no question that Arnau expected the apocalyptic conversion of non-Christians; he states this clearly in the very first of his religious treatises, the *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, composed in 1288–89.<sup>12</sup> Drawing on the Erythrean Sibyl, he notes that only four of the events there predicted remain to occur before the end of the world:

the first is that the church of the Greeks will be reunited by force to the church of the Latins; the second is the dispersion of the barbarian nations . . . the third is the coming of Antichrist; the fourth is the coming of the Lord in judgement.<sup>13</sup>

The “dispersion of the barbarian nations” represents the entrance of

<sup>9</sup> Joaquín Carreras Artau, “Arnaldo de Vilanova, apologista antijudaico,” *Sefarad*, 7 (1947), 57–8.

<sup>10</sup> Daniel, *Franciscan Concept*, 92–4.

<sup>11</sup> Daniel, *Franciscan Concept*, 93.

<sup>12</sup> Lee, “*Scrutamini Scripturas*,” 33, and Miquel Baullori, “Dos nous escrits espirituals d’Arnau de Vilanova,” *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 28 (1955), 51–2, both date the *De tempore* to 1288–89; the work has been most recently edited by Josep Perarnau Espelt, in “El text primitiu,” 134–69. Perarnau disputes the early date of the *De tempore*, preferring an initial composition in 1297, but has yet to publish his reasons.

<sup>13</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Tractatus de tempore adventu Antichristi*, in Perarnau, “El text primitiu,” 152: “primum est quod ecclesia Grecorum coacta reunietur ecclesie Latinorum; secundum est dissipatio barbare nationis . . . tertium est adventus Antichristi; quartum vero est adventus Domini ad iudicium.” The *De tempore* is one of four works cited herein partially edited by Heinrich Finke in *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, (Munster, 1902), cxvii–ccxi, but since edited in full; the others are the *Allocutio*, *Denunciatio tertio Gerundensis*, and *Protestatio, praesentatio ac supplicatio Benedicto XI*. The later editions are used not only because they are complete, but because they are of superior quality.

the *plenitudo gentium* into the Church. Writing in the last decade of the thirteenth century after the Incarnation, Arnau lends urgency to his expectation when he calculates that "the prophecy of the coming of Antichrist will be fulfilled within the fourteenth century from the coming of the Savior."<sup>14</sup>

The expectation of apocalyptic conversion is present as well in Arnau's later religious writings. In his *Expositio super Apocalypsi*, written in 1306, Arnau remarks that "such a multitude of the chosen will rise in the sixth age [*tempore*] of the Church, to the greatest extent from the general conversion of the infidels."<sup>15</sup> The "conversion of the infidels" is here a historic event preceding the struggle with Antichrist; elsewhere Arnau hints at the means by which this general conversion will be accomplished. In a commentary on the twenty-fourth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew written in 1304, he says that the Church

will multiply as a cedar, namely by extending on every side the multitude of its branches, since . . . then therefore the gospel will be preached in the whole world and preachers of the truth will be sent to all nations . . . Although the Church may be in decline, namely in its last stage [*sui ultimi status*], nevertheless . . . it will overflow with the sons of long coming on account of the abundant conversion of the unfaithful to the truth of the faith.<sup>16</sup>

Arnau's exegeses of Revelation and the Gospel of Matthew present both mission and apocalyptic conversion as the product of a church reformed in the last days, but his references to preachers indicate

<sup>14</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *De tempore*, 151: "prophetia de adventu Antichristi infra decimum quartum centenarium a Salvatoris adventu."

<sup>15</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Expositio super Apocalypsi*, in Arnaldi de Vilanova, *Scripta Spirituality*, ed. I. Carreras i Artau, O. Marinelli Mercacci and I. Morató i Thomàs (Barcelona, 1954), 1:114, commenting on Revelation 7:9: "tanta multitudo electorum in sexto Ecclesiae tempore surget ex parte maxima de generali conversione infidelium."

<sup>16</sup> Rome, Archivio Generale Carmelitani [hereafter AGC], MS III, varia 1, fol. 85v.b: "multiplicabitur ut cedrus, scilicet extendendo circumquaque multitudinem ramorum suorum, quia . . . tunc igitur predicabitur evangelium in universo mundo, et mittentur prechones veritatis ad omnes gentes . . . Licet tunc ecclesia sit in senio videlicet sui ultimi status nichilominus . . . filiis de longe venientibus habundabit propter habundantem conversionem infidelium ad fidei veritatem." Batllori, "Dos nous escrits," 53-56, has a description of the manuscript, and on 70 a small fragment of the Matthew commentary; a full description of the manuscript is found in K.-V. Selge, "Un codice quattrocento dell'Archivio Generale Carmelitani, contenente opere di Arnaldo da Villanova, Gioacchino da fiore e Guglielmo da Parigi," *Carmelus*, 36 (1989), 166-76 and idem, "Ancora a proposito del codice III, varia 1 dell'Archivio



nothing about their methods or "concept of mission".<sup>17</sup>

When Arnau actively encourages contemporary churchmen to pursue conversionary mission, rather than merely predicting an eventual general conversion, he is no more specific about method. Presenting his religious writings to Pope Benedict XI in June, 1304, Arnau urges him to advise the clergy

to invite pagans and infidels and schismatics to peacefully hear the word of Christ, since the time of their conversion and reconciliation draws near. And especially, those who are subjects or neighbors to catholic kings, declaring as much to the latter as to the former that the church wishes and desires to obtain among them neither their lands nor temporal dominion nor wealth or rent or tribute or any right of worldly subjection, but only that one should enter upon the way of eternal salvation.<sup>18</sup>

The allusion to apocalyptic conversion is brief, but Arnau wishes Benedict to undertake missions to prepare for it. The passage urges peaceful missionizing, in contrast to coercion or, perhaps, mission linked to crusading. In any case, Arnau is not specific about the

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Generale dei Carmelitani," *Carmelus*, 37 (1990), 170–72; Robert E. Lerner, "The Prophetic Manuscripts of the «Renaissance Magus» Pierleone of Spoleto", in *Il profetismo gioachimita tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, ed. Gian Luca Potestà (S. Giovanni in Fiore, 1990), 97–116, particularly 99–104, discusses the Carmelite manuscript's descent from an exemplar emanating from Arnau de Vilanova's Spiritual contacts in 1304–5. I would like to thank Robert Lerner and Roberto Rusconi for providing me with access to a microfilm of this manuscript.

<sup>17</sup> In his commentary on Matt. 24:14 (AGC, MS III, varia 1, fol. 74r.a), Arnau says "Deinde subiungit •xi• signum quod est bonum et est generalis predicatio evangeli per universum orbem . . . post dampnationem ecclesie meretricis, venit agni sponsa . . . quia reformabitur in populo christiano veritas evangelice et ex inde diffundetur ad omnes gentes, scilicet in testimonium christi." He expresses a similar sentiment when, commenting on Rev. 10:1–2 (*Expositio super Apocalypsi*, 141–42), he describes a "minister reformationis, scilicet pontifex superius memoratus," who "misit ministros suos spirituales ad infideles et praeessent eis in doctrina evangelica." In both cases, successful mission aimed at general conversion waits on and is a consequence of the reformation of the Church.

<sup>18</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Protestatio, praesentatio ac supplicatio Benedicto XI*, edited in Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "L'*Ars catholicae philosophiae* (primera redacció de la *Philosophia catholica et divina*) de Arnau de Vilanova," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 10 (1991), 212–13: "invitare paganos et infideles atque scismaticos ad audiendum pacifice verbum Christi, quoniam tempus conversionis et reconciliationis ipsorum accelerat. Et primo, illos, qui regibus catholicos subiecti sunt aut vicini, protestando tam hiis quam illis, quod nec terras eorum neque dominium temporale nec census aut redditus vel tributa sive ius aliquod mundane subiectionis cupit in eis Ecclesia vel appetit obtinere sed tantum ut viam salutis eterne ingrediatur." This recommendation is one of several Arnau makes to Benedict on the reformation of the Church.

techniques missionaries should use to persuade their hearers.

To supply Arnau de Vilanova's vague references with a "concept of mission," Carreras and Daniel rely most heavily on the *Allocutio super significatione nominis Thetragrammaton*. Writing in the summer of 1292, Arnau uses the exegetical technique of the pseudo-Joachite *De semine scripturarum*—interpreting the letters of scripture according to their *ordo*, *potestas* and *figura*—to demonstrate that the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, "yod-he-vau-he," and its Latin equivalent "i-h-v-h," signify the unity of multiple persons in a single divine essence.<sup>19</sup> These demonstrations occupy only half of the *Allocutio* (pp. 86–99), and are preceded by a discussion of its author's motives, sources, and techniques (pp. 80–86), and followed by a justification for a diversity of exegetical techniques and an explication of what Arnau considers the true Christian tetragrammata, the abbreviations for *ihesus* (ihs) and *christus* (xps) (pp. 99–105).<sup>20</sup> Moving through the various tetragrammata in their approximate chronological order, Arnau describes a multiplicity of persons in a single essence, then a fully orthodox Trinitarian formula, and finally an interpretation of the New Testament abbreviations which focuses on the ethical lessons of the Incarnation. But it is the work's superficial appearance as a demonstration of the Trinity, the quintessential doctrine separating Christians from Jews, made from Hebrew sources which has encouraged Carreras and Daniel to read it as a polemic, and of a specifically Dominican variety.

Three aspects of the *Allocutio* lead Joaquín Carreras Artau to identify Arnau as a follower of the Dominican Hebraist Ramon Martí. First, Arnau begins the work by acknowledging a debt to Martí:

I have often hoped, dearest father, that that seed of the Hebrew language, which the zeal of the religious brother R. Martini sowed in the garden of my heart, should be useful not only for myself, but also for the eternal salvation of others of the faithful.<sup>21</sup>

He goes on to describe a work of Martí's, most probably the *Pugio*

<sup>19</sup> Lee, "Scrutamini Scripturas," 42–43.

<sup>20</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio super significatione nominis Thetragrammaton*, edited in Joaquín Carreras i Artau, "La 'Allocutio super Tetragrammaton' de Arnaldo de Vilanova," *Sefarad*, 9 (1949), 80–105.

<sup>21</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio*, 80: "Pluries affectavi, karissime pater, ut semen illud hebraice lingue, quod zelus religionis fratris R. Martini seminavit on ortulo cordis mei, prodesset non michi solum, sed ceteris etiam fidelibus ad salutem eternam."

*fidei*, as “glorious,” even divinely inspired, “since it contains many and clear testimonies on behalf of the articles of our faith, which have lain hidden in the *hebraica veritate* until now.”<sup>22</sup> Second, Carreras viewed the hermeneutic of *ordo*, *potestas* and *figura* as equivalent to thirteenth century prophetic Kabbalah, some examples of which were possibly among the Hebrew sources used in Martí’s language *studium*.<sup>23</sup> Finally, the Greek translation of the *Allocutio* was specifically addressed to the Dominican friar Petrus de Pugeto.<sup>24</sup>

Scholarly opinion has largely followed Carreras and connected Arnau’s motive for composing the *Allocutio* with “the missionary ideals of the Dominicans.”<sup>25</sup> The acknowledgement of Martí indeed suggests that Arnau studied at Barcelona under the noted Hebraist, for both were active there in the early 1280s.<sup>26</sup> Taken as a demonstration that the Trinity was revealed, if only obscurely, in Hebrew scripture, the *Allocutio* seems to conform to Ramon Martí’s opinion that the Jews have in their authorities evidence for the truth of Christianity. The circumstances in which Arnau composed the *Allocutio*

<sup>22</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio*, 80–81: “illud gloriosum opus quod credo firmiter editum divino spiramine . . . quia continet multa et clara testimonia pro articulis nostre fidei, que latuerunt hactenus in hebraica veritate.”

<sup>23</sup> Carreras, “Arnaldo de Vilanova, apologista,” 59–61; idem, “La ‘Allocutio super Tetragrammaton,’” 75.

<sup>24</sup> Carreras, “Arnaldo de Vilanova, apologista,” 77–78; Arnau seems to have removed all indication of the work having been addressed to the Dominican Petrus de Pugeto from the extant Latin versions, the earliest of which is the codex Vatican, Latin 3824, dated by Heinrich Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII* (Munster, 1902), cxvii–cxx, to mid-1305. Nothing has as yet been discovered concerning who or what, besides a Dominican, Petrus de Pugeto was.

<sup>25</sup> Lee, “*Scrutamini scripturas*,” 48; although he accepts a Dominican missionary context for the work, Lee dismisses the influence of Kabbalism (see nn. 36–37, below). Two other arguments depend on Carreras’ identification of the *Allocutio* as an anti-Judaic polemic shaped by prophetic Kabbalism. First, Carreras himself, “Arnau y las culturas orientales,” in *Homenaje a Millàs Vallicrosa* (Barcelona, 1954), 1:309–21, argues that Arnau’s religious ideas reflected Jewish influences, while his medical writings reflected Arabic influences; this position is maintained as well by Pere Santonja, “Arnau de Vilanova: Les ciències ocultes, influències del pensament àrab i hebreu,” in *Miscel·lània Antoni M. Badia i Margarit* (Barcelona, 1985), 3:71–86 and Miquel Batllori, “Ramon Llull i Arnau de Vilanova en relació amb la filosofia i amb les ciències orientales del segle XIII,” in *A través de la història i la cultura* (Montserrat, 1979), 15–35. Second, Batllori often relies on the polemical character of the *Allocutio* as showing Arnau’s greater interest in the conversion of Jews than Muslims, a dichotomy which he suggests may be an indication of Arnau’s possible Converso origins; in “Ramon Llull i Arnau de Vilanova,” he has most recently extended this supposition by ascribing to Arnau a thorough knowledge of Jewish culture predicated on the Kabbalist basis of the *Allocutio*.

<sup>26</sup> Lee, “*Scrutamini Scripturas*,” 48.

also seem to underscore the Dominican connections put forward by Carreras and accepted by both Harold Lee and E. R. Daniel: according to the dating clause at the end of the work, Arnau completed it in the summer of 1292 at the castle of Raymond de Meuillon, the Dominican bishop of Gap, former lector at the *studium* of Montpellier, and his order's chosen defender of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the composition of the work in 1292 appears to coincide with Arnau's brief period of theological study with the Dominicans of Montpellier.<sup>28</sup>

However, the case for an affinity between Arnau de Vilanova's "concept of mission" and a Dominican tradition of philosophical conversion is circumstantial and made without detailed reference to the contents of the *Allocutio*, which does not resemble an anti-Judaic polemic or an example of a polemical technique of any type.<sup>29</sup> First, Arnau neither cites nor explicates Old Testament christological prophecy, the approach characteristic of the type of defensive *apologia* descended from the patristic age. Second, Arnau never mentions conversion or the training of missionaries as his motive for writing. When he introduces the work, Arnau states that his interest is in understanding scripture and determining "in what way knowledge of [Hebrew] could produce the fruit of catholic instruction for the whole of the faithful by illuminating and strengthening the minds of the believing with regard to faith in those things which the gospel reading

<sup>27</sup> Victor Le Clerc, "Raymond de Meuillon, dominicain, évêque de Gap, archevêque d'Embrun," *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1842), 20:252–66; Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, 341–42.

<sup>28</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Denunciatio tertio Gerundensis*, in Joaquín Carreras i Artau, "La polémica Gerundense sobre el Anticristo entre Arnau de Vilanova y los dominicos," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, 5 (1950), 55, where, in late 1302 or early 1303, Arnau answers the charge that he had no theological training: "ipsi sciunt et novit etiam catholicorum multitudo, quod medicus ille non tantum audivit theologiam set etiam legit eam sollempniter in scolis fratrum Predicatorum Montepessulani." In the *Protestatio* . . . *Benedicto XI*, 213, Arnau seeks to underscore the humility of his person and thereby the significance of his conclusions, and limits that period of study to only six months: "cum sim despectissimus hominum . . . quia semper in scientis secularibus ab infantia quasi vel pueritia studi et nunquam scolas theologorum nisi sex mensibus aut circiter frequentavi."

<sup>29</sup> Amos Funkenstein, "Basic Types of Christian Anti-Judaic Polemics in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator*, 2 (1971), 373–74, describes four "basic types": defensive polemics, attacks on the Talmud, philosophical or rational polemic and reliance on extra-scriptural Judaic authorities. Dispensing with the attack on the Talmud for brevity's sake, the present comparison of the *Allocutio* with polemics focuses on the the latter two types, which are subsumed under Daniel's description of the Dominican concept of philosophical mission.

declares."<sup>30</sup> Arnau offers this motive in the course of explaining both his study of the *Pugio fidei* and his effort to glean "perhaps a grain of heavenly guidance" from Hebrew scripture; it is noteworthy that he omits to mention either conversion or missionary preaching.

In fact, in the whole of the *Allocutio* Arnau mentions conversion only once, and then in a manner which subordinates it to his eschatological interests. Concluding an argument for the exposition of scripture by a diversity of methods, Arnau states that

the particular meanings of the scriptures emerge not at one time but successively, little by little, throughout the parts of time and the durations of the world, and many yet sleep in the dust of the earth, namely the earthly semblance of the letter, who will come forth from the sepulchers of the literal speeches, by means of Christ dying in the last persecution of the faithful, and will appear in the city of the assembly of the faithful.<sup>31</sup>

Employing the trope of the blindness and literality of the Jews, Arnau again places their conversion, their appearance in the city of the faithful, in the apocalyptic future. But, going on to express the urgency of his expectation of this moment, Arnau does give missionary preaching a role in apocalyptic conversion:

we firmly expect this to be fulfilled in the following fourteenth century of the years of the Lord, since in it according to the testimony of prophecies the incarnate truth shall become known and accepted by all the families of the peoples . . . and *inbrato* strongly through the sword of the word of God by bold preachers among the tongues and peoples, since only by such a sword and such an army could be spread and published the truth of the celestial lamb, which alone is eternally ordained for the restoring of life and not for killing.<sup>32</sup>

Arnau envisions peaceful missionizing consistent with the "dream of conversion," but without specifying technique. Leaving the dream's

<sup>30</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio*, 80: "qualiter noticia lingue huius posset fidelium cetui fructum edificationis catholice parere illuminando et roborando mentes credentium erga fidem eorum que predicat evangelica lectio."

<sup>31</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio*, 100–101: "Sensus enim particulares sacrorum eloquiorum non simul sed successive per partes temporum et durationes mundi paulatim emergunt, et multi adhuc dormiunt in pulvere terre, scilicet in terrena ymagine litere, qui Xristo moriente in ultima persecutione fidelium, egredientur de monumentis eloquiorum literalium et apparebunt in civitate fidelis collegii."

<sup>32</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio*, 101: "Hec autem in sequenti quarto decimo centenatio annorum domini speramus firmiter adimpleri, cum in eo secundum

fulfillment, however imminent, in the future, the passage strongly implies the impossibility of general conversion before that time.

A third feature of the *Allocutio* which distinguishes it from contemporary polemics, and particularly from the technique proposed by Ramon Martí, is that Arnau does not employ Judaic sources in his arguments. While the role of Martí—as well as of the mendicant orders in general—in shaping the late medieval perception of Jews remains the subject of debate, there is agreement on the nature of his technique in the *Pugio fidei*: to circumvent Jewish counter-arguments to Christian polemic based on the interpretation of christological prophecy, Martí recommended the use in preaching and disputation of Talmudic passages which he felt contained evidence that learned Jews had recognized, but rejected, Jesus as the Messiah.<sup>33</sup> Arnau uses nothing like this method in the *Allocutio*, for he cites only scripture, while explicitly limiting his reliance on Jewish learning to knowledge of what he describes as a misplaced reverence for the holy name of the Tetragrammaton, concluding

Nor, however, have I thought to learn more from the Jews by any means . . . namely because scripture proves that it is not disclosed to them, and that their eyes are obscured such that they may not see.<sup>34</sup>

After detailing scriptural references to the blindness of the Jews, Arnau does indicate a familiarity with Hebrew versions of scripture, but only to argue that the blackness of their titles and lack of rubrics signify the ignorance of the Jews.<sup>35</sup> Even in his exposition of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, where one might expect it, Arnau never cites Talmudic authorities.

Nor does Arnau use Jewish sources without acknowledgement, not even those of prophetic Kabbalah. Harold Lee, though he accepted Carreras' connection of the *Allocutio* with a tradition of Dominican missionizing, rejected the influence of Kabbalah, pointing out that

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testimonium propheciarum debeat incarnata veritas nota et accepta fieri cunctis familiis gentium . . . et inbrato fortiter gladio verbi dei per viriles predicatorum in linguis et populis, cum solummodo tali gladio talique militia dilatetur et divulgetur veritas agni celestis, que solum ad vivificandum et non ad interficiendum est eternaliter ordinata."

<sup>33</sup> See note 3, above, for references on Martí's technique and his significance.

<sup>34</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio*, 83: "Nec tamen iudeis concepiti addiscere ullo modo . . . scilicet, quia scripture testatur quod eis non est indicatum, et quod obscurati sunt oculi eorum ne videant."

<sup>35</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio*, 84.

Arnau's numerology reflects instead "Augustine, Joachim of Fiore and Pythagorean mathematics."<sup>36</sup> Lee also notes a fundamental difference between the goal of Arnau's hermeneutic of *ordo*, *potestas* and *figura*, and that of Kabbalistic technique: where the latter is a method yielding mystical illumination, the former is an exegetical tool.<sup>37</sup> Arnau himself indicates that he is sensitive to the possible confusion of his method with Kabbalah, remarking in the *Allocutio*'s somewhat abrupt conclusion that "it is evident to everyone that the *potestas* of the letter is not apprehended by the senses through thought on the written expression, but on the pronunciation alone."<sup>38</sup> Arnau seems to be distinguishing an interpretive technique emphasizing the sound and "power" of letters from a type of Kabbalistic meditation, described by Gershom Scholem, involving repeatedly writing and rearranging on paper the letters of the Tetragrammaton.<sup>39</sup>

Since he avoids explicating christological prophecies, citing extra-scriptural Judaic sources and almost all mention of conversion, Arnau de Vilanova employs no recognizable polemical or missionary strategy in the *Allocutio*. Despite the presence of anti-Judaic remarks throughout the work, Arnau seems more intent on defending the orthodoxy of his Hebrew studies and exegetical technique. He reveals this defensive purpose most clearly at three points. First, throughout the introductory portion of the *Allocutio*, Arnau is at pains to stress the orthodoxy of both his motives for studying Hebrew and his sources. Initially invoking the name and work of Ramon Martí, the most distinguished Hebraist of the Dominican order, Arnau offers the edification of his fellow Christians as his motive for pursuing the study of Hebrew. After the ensuing discussion of how the letters of scripture serve as signs for the instruction of the human intellect, he returns to the theme of his sources. It is in this context that Arnau

<sup>36</sup> Lee, "*Scrutamini scripturas*," 55.

<sup>37</sup> Lee, "*Scrutamini scripturas*," 54–56. Eusebio Colomer, "La interpretación del Tetragrama bíblico en Ramon Martí y Arnau de Vilanova," in *Sprache und Erkenntnis im Mittelalter*, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 13 (Berlin and New York, 1981), 937–45, argues that Arnau accepted but extended Martí's use of a Kabbalistic exegesis of the Tetragrammaton when found in messianic prophecies; however, Colomer's own description of the *Allocutio* indicates no more affinity between the two exegetical approaches than Arnau's acceptance of Martí's position that the Tetragrammaton is a sign describing the divinity.

<sup>38</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio*, 105: "Patet autem unicuique quod per sensum non apprehenditur in dictione scripta potestas littere, sed in prolatione tantummodo."

<sup>39</sup> Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1954), 130–42.

denies relying not only on Jewish authors, but also on Greek Christians, "since they are found to have judged badly concerning the articles of the catholic faith."<sup>40</sup> In the end, having found no Latin author or teacher who could introduce him to the meaning of the Tetragrammaton, Arnau says that he took up a private study of the holy name, trusting in illumination from God.<sup>41</sup>

Second, after expounding both the Hebrew and Latin tetragrammata, Arnau pauses to discuss the licitness of his method. The defensive tone of his remarks is unmistakable:

I do not know whether the foresaid expositions of signs could be written by anyone. But I know for certain they are from God. For any manner of expounding holy scripture which is not opposed to morals and the faith is from God.<sup>42</sup>

This point is not made in passing, but introduces a lengthy explanation of how any exposition with the end of instructing both the intellect and the will concerning things divine which also conforms to the catholic truth fulfills God's original purpose in authoring the scriptures. The argument is scarcely meant to convert anyone, and Arnau concludes with the scenario of apocalyptic conversion cited above.<sup>43</sup> Third and finally, the anti-Judaism of Arnau's rejection of Jewish sources and of a seemingly Kabbalistic technique, supplemented at other points in the text, could serve a defensive purpose, implying that he is not judaizing, since the supposed ignorance of the Jews makes their learning useless.

The anxiety Arnau de Vilanova displays about his sources, his motives and the licitness of his exposition, as well as his recurring anti-Judaic remarks, suggest that he wrote the *Allocutio* as a defense of his orthodoxy, specifically against a suspicion of judaizing. The context in which Arnau composed the work provides some circumstantial evidence for this. On the one hand, the numerous links to the Dominican order, to which the work apparently testifies, do not

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<sup>40</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio*, 85: "quoniam in articulis catholice fidei male sensisse inveniuntur"; on his denial of reliance on Jewish teachers and sources, see nn. 34, 38 above.

<sup>41</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio*, 86.

<sup>42</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Allocutio*, 99: "Utrum autem predictae signorum expositiones ab aliquo scripte sint, ignoro. Sed pro constanti scio quod a Deo sunt. Nam omnis modus exponendi sacram scripturam qui moribus et fidei non repugnat, est a Deo."

<sup>43</sup> See nn. 31-32 above.



by themselves prove that Arnau had any interest in or connection with the order's missionary activity. The Dominican *studium* at Montpellier, unlike its counterpart in Barcelona, had no especial interest in conversionary mission. Moreover, we do not yet know anything about the Dominican to whom Arnau addressed the *Allocutio*, and it is presumptuous to assume that he must have been a missionary preacher, rather than a lector at the *studium*, or even an inquisitor. That Arnau composed the work at the castle of Raymond de Meullon only indicates that there was some connection between the two, since the Dominican bishop, though an important figure in his order, had no particular interest in conversionary activity.

On the other hand, the primary context of Arnau's activity in Montpellier, the medical faculty of the university, did place him in contact with learned Jews and the Christian translators of Hebrew texts. Montpellier in the 1290s was the site of a vigorous, and perhaps suspect, exchange of knowledge between Jewish and Christian physicians, typified by Ermengaud Blaise's translation of at least two Hebrew medical and astrological works.<sup>44</sup> Blaise was Arnau de Vilanova's nephew, and he had in 1289 been denied the degree of doctor, despite a successful examination. While it is by no means certain that an interest in Hebrew science was the source of Blaise's trouble, there seems little else to account for it. More importantly, there is evidence that Arnau himself participated in these exchanges between Jewish and Christian scholars. As Joseph Shatzmiller has pointed out, the therapeutic device by which Arnau cured Boniface VIII of kidney stones—the sigil of a lion worn at the waist—is taken from a Hebrew medical text, the *Book of Figures*, of Iberian origin, but circulating in Montpellier in the early 1290s.<sup>45</sup>

Arnau de Vilanova's borrowings from Jewish learning were not limited to medicine; a religious writing prior to the *Allocutio* provides an example of both his knowledge of Hebrew science and his anxiety regarding it. About 1290, Arnau composed the *Introductio in librum Joachim de semine scripturarum*, in which he attributes the *De semine*

<sup>44</sup> Joseph Shatzmiller, "Contacts et échanges entre savants juifs et chrétiens à Montpellier vers 1300," in *Juifs et Judaïsme de Languedoc*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 12 (Toulouse, 1977), 337–44; on Blaise, see Ernst Renan, "Armengaud, fils de Blaise, médecin," *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1881), 28:127–38, and Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), 2:845 n. 2; on Blaise and Arnau, see Joaquín Carreras i Artau and Miquel Batllori, "La patria y la familia de Arnau de Vilanova," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 20 (1947), 40–48.

<sup>45</sup> Joseph Shatzmiller, "In Search of the 'Book of Figures': Medicine and Astrology

*scripturarum* to the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore, but also extended that work's technique of interpreting letters according to their *ordo*, *potestas* and *figura* to Hebrew as well as Latin.<sup>46</sup> While discussing the significance of the numbers 10, 100, and 1000, Arnau remarks:

This is what therefore is figured in the *manus abbae* in which the numbers from a single unit up to a thousand are written separately by digits and articuli . . . the abovementioned difference of numerals . . . is not discovered except by divine inspiration, whether those to whom it was first revealed may have been good or evil.<sup>47</sup>

The name of this calculating device or technique, the *manus abbae*, conveys its apparent Jewish origin, and Arnau's reference to it in a discussion of exegetical technique indicates the permeability of his religious and scientific interests in the early 1290s. But Arnau displays the same anxiety about the non-Christian origins of this device which plays so large a role in the *Allocutio*.

Apart from this evidence for Arnau de Vilanova's exposure to Jewish learning, it seems that he had every reason to fear that his contemporaries would perceive his exegesis to be implicitly Judaic. In both his religious works prior to the *Allocutio*, the *De tempore adventu Antichristi* of 1288–89 and the *Introductio in librum Joachim* of 1290, Arnau explains the angel's promise to Daniel that his vision would be fulfilled in 2300 days by understanding a "day for a year."<sup>48</sup> Henry of Harclay, at least, found in this formula cause for accusing Arnau of crypto-Judaism:

Because he argues that a day is taken for a year in the case of the days of Daniel . . . He follows another opinion of the *de adventu antichristi* and it is the opinion of the Jews. And I believe that master was of their profession, secretly however on account of a fear of Christians.<sup>49</sup>

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in Montpellier at the Turn of the Fourteenth Century," *AJS Review: Journal of the Association for Jewish Studies*, 7–8 (1982–83), 383–407.

<sup>46</sup> Lee, "Scrutamini Scripturas," 42–43.

<sup>47</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Introductio in librum Joachim de semine scripturarum*, edited in Raoul Manselli, "La religiosità d'Arnaldo da Villanova," *Bulletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 63 (1951), 54: "Hoc est illud ergo quod figuratur in manu abbe in qua quidem ab unitate usque ad millenarium numeri distincte notantur per digitos et articulos . . . Supradicta igitur diversitas numeralis . . . non casualiter est inventa sed inspiratione divine, sive ille quibus primo extitit revelatum boni fuerint sive mali."

<sup>48</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Introductio*, 51–54; idem, *De tempore*, 147–48. On this point, see as well the discussion by J. Perarnau in "El text primitiu," 36–38.

<sup>49</sup> Henry of Harclay, *Utrum astrologi vel quicumque calculatores possint probare secundum*

Henry, writing in 1314, is far removed in both time and place from Montpellier in the 1290s; nonetheless his accusation indicates that Arnau's interpretation could have caused suspicion.

The *Allocutio*, then, provides no evidence about Arnau de Vilanova's opinions on conversionary mission, because the work appears to be a defense of its author's orthodoxy, rather than an anti-Judaic polemic or polemical example. Despite his explicit disavowal of reliance on Jewish learning in the *Allocutio*, had studied Hebrew religious and scientific writings prior to 1292. According to Henry of Harclay, Arnau's contemporaries could have found a Judaic influence in his eschatological speculations. Although Arnau apparently kept the *De tempore adventu Antichristi* hidden until 1297 and the distribution of the *Introductio in librum Joachim* quite limited, his colleagues at the Dominican *studium* could easily have learned of his exegetical interests informally.<sup>50</sup> Confronted not with a formal accusation, but perhaps a stated suspicion, Arnau sought to allay fears about his interest in Hebrew learning and prophetic scripture by producing orthodox Trinitarian formulations according to his own method of exegesis. While more work remains to be done on the way in which Arnau de Vilanova directs his interpretations of the individual letters of the holy name toward statements of Trinitarian doctrine consistent with Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, for the present it suffices to note that he prominently invokes Ramon Martí, but does not employ his opinions or techniques, as if to emphasize the Dominican order's own pursuit of Hebrew learning.<sup>51</sup> That no more pronounced evidence of an accusation of judaizing against Arnau de Vilanova survives suggests that his oblique refutation in the *Allocutio* was a success.

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*adventum Christi*, in Franz Pelster, "Die Quaestio Heinrichs von Harclay über die zweite Ankunft Christi und die Erwartung des baldigen Weltendes zu Anfang des XIV Jahrhunderts," *Archivio Italiano per la storia della pietà*, 1 (1951), 61: "Quod autem arguit quod dies sumitur pro anno in diebus Danielis . . . Sequitur alia opinio de adventu antichristi et est opinio Iudeorum. Et credo iste magister fuit de professione illorum, occulte tamen propter metum christianorum."

<sup>50</sup> On the time Arnau kept the *De tempore* hidden, Batllori, "Dos nous escrits", 51–52; Francesco Santi, "Gli «*scripta spiritualia*» di Arnau de Vilanova," *Studi medievali*, 3rd. ser., 26, no. 2 (1985), 977–1014, seriously flawed but still the most up-to-date manuscript bibliography of Arnau's religious works, indicates that Arnau only included the *Introductio* and the *Allocutio* in a single fairly late compilation of his religious writings.

<sup>51</sup> Arnau seems to be drawing heavily on the first twelve chapters of the fourth book of Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles* in his discussion of the Latin Tetragrammaton in the *Allocutio*, treating many of the same trinitarian issues in distinctly Thomist and Aristotelian language. Otherwise a determined "anti-scholastic" (see Michael Batllori,

Without the *Allocutio* as an example of a philosophical or rational polemic, there is little to say about the techniques Arnau de Vilanova envisaged preachers using to accomplish conversion. His vague references to conversionary preaching argue for neither a rational, doctrinal preaching style nor an emphasis on exemplary evangelical perfection. Arnau's two clearest endorsements of organized efforts at conversion, both from the last years of his life, are similarly vague, but each in context suggests a greater affinity for the model of exemplary evangelical perfection. In the briefer of the two statements, from a 1310 recapitulation of his last appearance before Clement V at Avignon, Arnau praises King Frederic of Sicily because he

has begun to build and to continue evangelical schools . . . in which the rich and poor will be informed in the evangelical life, that is of the true christian; and those who shall be fit to preach . . . will be informed concerning diverse languages, in such a manner that they shall be able to show the truth of the Gospel to all, pagans and schismatics . . . he has already procured masters and evangelical writings in some languages, and he has made the cry through the island that all those who would wish to live in evangelical poverty . . . shall go there.<sup>52</sup>

E. Randolph Daniel points to this passage as evidence for Arnau's agreement with a Dominican emphasis on language training.<sup>53</sup> One could argue that language training is not so distinctly Dominican a technique, while Arnau himself seems more excited that these are

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S. I., "Arnau de Vilanova antiscologista d'après les textes catalans et italiens," in *Scholastica: Ratione historico-critica instauranda* [Rome, 1951], 567–81), his reliance on Aquinas extends even to his concluding remarks on the Latin Tetragrammaton, where he discusses the appropriateness of calling God a father, also discussed in the twelfth chapter of book four of the *Summa*. The scandal of applying terms of carnal generation to the transcendent God is raised not in Judaic anti-Christian arguments, but in Islamic polemic; see Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine, 3: The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)* (Chicago, 1978), 244.

<sup>52</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Raonament d'Avinyo*, in *Obres catalanes*, ed. Miquel Batllori (Barcelona, 1947), 1:220–21: "à començat a bastir e a continuar escoles evangelicals . . . en les quals rics e pobres seran informats a vida evangelical, ço és, de ver christià; e aquels qui seran abtes a preÿcar, oltra açò seran enformats en lengües diverses, en tal manera que la veritat del Evangeli pusquen mostrar a tots, pagans o scismàtics . . . àprocurat ja maestres e escriptures evangelicals en algunes lengües, e procura en altres, e à feyt cridar per la ylla que tots aquells qui volran en paupertat evangelical viure . . . vagen là." Both the *Raonament* and the *Informació espiritual*, to be discussed below, were edited by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, lxxxiii–cxv; the more recent editions of both in *Obres catalanes*, 1:167–243, are preferred because they incorporate diacritical marks which materially aid understanding.

<sup>53</sup> Daniel, *Franciscan Concept*, 93–94.

“schools in the evangelical life” in general than they have some conversionary purpose as well. Moreover, his description of these possibly lay preachers’ ability “to show the truth of the Gospel” indicates nothing about their techniques. It is even doubtful whether this passage accurately reflects Arnau de Vilanova’s own opinion; usually what words he ascribes to Frederic ought to be taken as his own, but in this case they can be compared to his contemporaneous instructions to King Jaume II of Aragon on the conversion of non-Christians and the establishment of hostels for the pursuit of the evangelical life, where Arnau altogether fails to mention language training.<sup>54</sup>

Arnau de Vilanova places his recommendations to Jaume of Aragon on the treatment of non-Christians, his only systematic discussion of a missionary enterprise, in the context of a plan for the reform of Christian society through the example of royal evangelical perfection. The *Informació espiritual*, in effect a spiritual mirror for princes, written in 1309, stands at the far end of Arnau’s religious career from the *Allocutio*, but it contains six instructions on the governance and conversion of the king’s Muslim, Jewish and *converso* subjects. The first three of these describe an organized missionary effort. First, the king is to compel Muslim slaves to come before him, and

cause the truth of the Gospels to be set forth to them; and those who are willing to convert . . . you should buy them and cause them to be baptized and instructed in the truth.<sup>55</sup>

Once again, Arnau does not specify how “the truth of the Gospels” is to be set forth, whether as doctrine or as *exempla*.

The second and third instructions deal with the fate of the new converts. On the one hand, the king is to make an “ordinance concerning spiritual and corporal provision for the neophytes.”<sup>56</sup> More important, the king is to summon the high clergy, and

<sup>54</sup> The instructions to the king concerning non-Christians are discussed immediately below, and that on the establishment of hostels is found in Arnau de Vilanova, *Informació espiritual*, in *Obres catalanes*, 1:235: “ordenarets que en tots los locs famoses de vostra seynoria aya una casa on pusquen albergar e estar, si’s volen, perssones pobres de penitència: e’ls altres pobres, que vagen a l’espital.”

<sup>55</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Informació espiritual*, 1:233: “e fer-los ets proposar la veritat del Evvangelí; e aquells qui’s volrran convertir, q[u]e’ls comprets e fassats bateyar e enformar en la veritat.”

<sup>56</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Informació espiritual*, 1:234: “ordenament sobre la provisió espital e corporal dels neòfits.”

ask them that they certify that those [clergy] are against Christ and his truth who call renegades those who shall come to Christianity from paganism; and find that it is a blasphemy of infidelity or of greater heresy.<sup>57</sup>

The latter injunction, to be enforced by a “great and irrevocable penalty,” certainly has some conversionary value, but both seem more concerned with the internal conditions of the Christian community.<sup>58</sup> It is clear from these instructions that Arnau expected doctrinal instruction to follow the act of conversion, rather than being a means to that end.

Arnau’s fourth and fifth instructions, concerning the Jews in the Crown of Aragon, reveal the same indifference to methods of conversion. In the fifth, Arnau briefly recapitulates the canonical prohibition against Christians consulting Jewish physicians, adding that “in so far as [the Jew] will persevere in his error,” he should not dare to treat Christians.<sup>59</sup> But in the fourth, he instructs the king to present the Jews with an ultimatum: to convert within one year or to live apart, “because of the diabolical constitution against the Christians which they have in the *Talmud*.”<sup>60</sup> If they will not agree to this choice, the king should expel them. Arnau suggests that the Jews ought to convert “because you will have shown them clearly that they are in error and that you wish their salvation and to avoid the corruption of Christians.”<sup>61</sup> These instructions reveal how much greater an interest in the internal well-being of the Christian world Arnau de Vilanova had than in conversionary mission. Moreover, the delivery of an ultimatum to Jews of the realm, apparently without regard to

<sup>57</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Informació espiritual*, 1:234: “de[m]anar-los [et]s que•s certifiquen q[uan]t er[r]en contra Christ e la su[a] veritat aquells qui di[en re]negats a cells qui de pag[ani]sme vénen a crestianisme; e trobat que és blasfèmia de infidelitat o de la mayor eretgia.”

<sup>58</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Informació espiritual*, 1:234: “penal tal e irrevocàbil.” Arnau’s impatience with those labelling converts renegades echoes a decree of 1242 by Jaume the Conqueror, which also mandated forced sermons; Arnau perhaps alludes to forced sermons in the instruction on calling together Muslim slaves, but he gives the subject much less space than the royal decree (cited in Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, rev. ed. [New York, 1966], 257).

<sup>59</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Informació espiritual*, 1:235: “tant com en sa error perserverarà.”

<sup>60</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Informació espiritual*, 1:234: “per la constitució dyabòlica que an en lo *Talmut* contra los crestians.”

<sup>61</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Informació espiritual*, 1:234: “(per ço quar vós los mostrarets clarament que són en error, e volets lur salut e esquivar lo corrompiment dels crestians).”

legal status, contrasts markedly with the offer of baptism to Muslim slaves. Nonetheless, in remarking that the king shall "have shown [the Jews] that they are in error, Arnau seems to be referring to example, rather than preaching per se.

The last of Arnau's six instructions on the crown's treatment of non-Christians and Conversos, however, contains a clear statement of the conversionary effect of an evangelical example. Arnau makes no reference to an organized missionary effort among free Muslims. Instead, the king is to see that his infidel subjects, presumably of either faith,

shall be ruled by persons who treat them evangelically, that is, in such a manner that they not give them example of anything contrary to the Gospel, rather that they draw them toward Christianity in so far as they are able.<sup>62</sup>

Certainly, conversionary methodology is not Arnau's principal concern, in this section of the *Informació* any more than in his other writings; he is concerned to tell Jaume of Aragon what to do, rather than how to do it. But, Arnau here unambiguously suggests that the king's non-Christian subjects can be drawn to Christianity by the evangelical example of their governors.<sup>63</sup>

In so far as Arnau de Vilanova considered the question of how "pagans and schismatics" could be drawn to Christianity, in the last years of his life he favored exemplary evangelical perfection. This becomes clearer when the foregoing recommendations to Jaume of Aragon are viewed in context. Arnau divides his advice to king into three parts:

Lord: you are held to do some things properly in that you are a king and some properly in that you are a Christian king, and others common to the royal dignity and to Christianity.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Informació espiritual*, 1:235: "sien regits per perssones qui's tracten evangèlicament, ço és, en tal manera que no's donen exemple de re contra l'Evangeli; mas que al crestianisme los tiren tant com poran."

<sup>63</sup> Another instruction in this section of the *Informació* recommends that the king make some "establishment of evangelical piety . . . through which Greek slaves . . . may receive the benefits of charity, and the other Greeks may be edified by this" (1:236: "establiment de pietat evvangèlica . . . per lo qual los grecs catius . . . reeben benefici de caritat, e'ls altres grecs ne sien edificats"). As in the government of non-Christians, Arnau suggests that the evangelical example may also draw Greek Christians to the Roman obedience.

<sup>64</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Informació espiritual*, 1:223: "[S]eynor: vós sóts tengut de fer

The second category, concerning the ways in which the king can promote the faith through his person and his office, is most important to Arnau, occupying two-thirds of the text; it is here that he presents his six instructions on the treatment of non-Christians. Before these, however, Arnau presents a long discussion of the ways in which the king and his household should manifest the evangelical truth in their lives, emphasizing the reforming effect which the king's example will have on his subjects. Arnau begins by saying:

Within your house, you should promote [evangelical truth] . . . in yourself and the Queen and the children, so that your house may be, to all those outside, a mirror and model of true Christianity . . . Since the proper duty of a Christian is to manifest in himself the truth of Christ, so that all the divine Trinity . . . may be praised and honored by it publicly.<sup>65</sup>

In the reform of Christian society, in attempts at conversion, Arnau de Vilanova believed that "a mirror and model of true Christianity," exemplary evangelical perfection in other words, was a superior means to stimulate change.

There is in the end little to say about Arnau de Vilanova's "concept of mission." In the *Allocutio super significatione nominis Thetragrammaton*, he affirms the eventual apocalyptic conversion of most non-Christians, but briefly and as part of a defense of his exegetical technique. In almost all his other references to conversion, whether predicting apocalyptic conversion or encouraging missionary preaching, Arnau is silent about method. The sole exception to this general opacity appears in one of Arnau's last religious writings, the *Informació espiritual*: six recommendations on the conversion and governance of non-Christians, included within a discussion of the evangelical example which the king ought to display to his subjects, where he suggests that such an example will encourage conversion. There is more work to do before Arnau de Vilanova's opinions on the matter of conversion are fully understood: the *Allocutio* and the circumstances of its composition deserve a more thorough analysis, as do the relationships be-

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algunes coses pròpiament en quant sòts rey, e algunes pròpiament en quant sòts rey crestià, e altres comunes a la dignitat real e al crestianisme."

<sup>65</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, *Informació espiritual*, 1:224-25: "Dins vostra casa, la devets promoure . . . en vós e la regina e ls infants, per tal que vostra casa sie, a tots los de fora, myrall e forma de ver crestianisme . . . Quar offici propri de crest[i]à és axí manifestar en si la veritat de Christ, que tota la Trinitat divinal . . . ne sie loada e honrrada públicament."



tween his anti-Judaism and study of Hebrew texts, between his emphasis on peaceful missionizing and various statements on crusade.<sup>66</sup> At present, it appears that conversion played a most minor role in Arnau's religious thought, secondary to his concern with the reform of Christian society in anticipation of the coming of Antichrist. Nonetheless, Arnau de Vilanova, who dreamed of a world transformed by the virtues of piety, humility and charity, did share, if only slightly, in the contemporary dream of conversion.

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<sup>66</sup> Arnau seems to have had an ambivalent, if not contradictory, attitude towards crusade. Responding in the *De tempore adventu Antichristi* to the charge that he erred in suggesting that it was vain to exhort the faithful "adquirere et tenere possessionem" of Jerusalem, that is to take the cross, Arnau remarks that the Church is right to encourage its sons to avenge the insult to Christ of his consecrated ground being in the possession of infidels, and fulfills its proper office in thus leading the faithful to the heavenly Jerusalem "per viam brevissimam." Nonetheless, Arnau goes on to repeat that it is vain to exhort the faithful to actually hold the earthly Jerusalem before "tempus plenitudinis gentium." (*De tempore*, 163–64.) With no such hair-splitting, Arnau quotes, in the *De mysterio cymbalorum ecclesiae*, a prophecy that Valencia will humiliate the inhabitants of the Nile, in revenge for Muslim depravity. (The full text of the *De mysterio* is edited by J. Perarnau, in "El text primitiu," 53–133; the prophecy "Ve hoc mundo in centum annum" is quoted on 102–3.)

THE SOURCES FOR ALFONSO DE ESPINA'S MESSIANIC  
ARGUMENT AGAINST THE JEWS IN THE  
*FORTALITIUM FIDEI*

Steven J. McMichael, OFM Conv.

Alfonso de Espina, the fifteenth-century Observant Franciscan, is an important figure in the history of Christian anti-Judaic polemical writing. He is primarily known for his preaching, his authorship of the *Fortalitium Fidei* (c. 1464), and his involvement with the Spanish Inquisition.<sup>1</sup> These activities had a common aim or purpose: to eliminate the threat Jews and Judaism posed to the Christian Fortress of Faith.

As indicated by the massive polemical work, the *Fortalitium Fidei*, Alfonso believed that there were many enemies of the faith who were trying to subvert Christian truth: heretical and false Christians, Jews, Saracens, and devils.<sup>2</sup> In the prologue to the text, he claimed that these enemies had fallen upon the flock and this terrible situation was largely the fault of the clergy, who were not only few in number but also more concerned about fleecing the flock than feeding them. The faithful were left defenseless, without anyone who was concerned about "the faithless Jews who blaspheme Your name and practice

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<sup>1</sup> On Alfonso, see Benzion Netanyahu, "Alonso de Espina: Was He a New Christian?" *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 43 (1976), 107–65; A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird's-eye View of Christian Apologia [to the Jews] Until the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1935), 277–80; Alisa Meyuhass Ginio, "The Conversos and the Magic Arts in Alonso de Espina's 'Fortalitium Fidei,'" *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 5, no. 2 (1990), 169–82; Mario Esposito, "Notes sur le 'Fortalitium Fidei' d'Alphonse de Spina," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 43 (1948), 514–36; idem, "Une secte d'hérétiques à Medina del Campo en 1459: D'après le 'Fortalitium Fidei' d'Alphonse de Spina," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 32 (1936), 350–60; Atanasio López, "Descripción de los manuscritos franciscanos existentes en la biblioteca provincial de Toledo," *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 25 (1926), 334–381; and John Edwards, "Fifteenth-Century Franciscan Reform and the Spanish *Conversos*: The Case of Fray Alonso de Espina," in *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, ed. Judith Loades (Bangor, 1990), 203–10.

<sup>2</sup> The *Fortalitium Fidei* is divided into five Books, the first of which addresses spiritual warfare in general (50 pages) and the four following which concern the four principle enemies of the Church: heretics (29 pages), Jews (150 pages), Muslims (84 pages), and demons (21 pages). The page numbers given in parentheses—and further citations from the text—refer to the Anton Koberger (Nuremberg, 1494) incunabula edition of the *Fortalitium Fidei*.

secretly unheard of cruelties" and "the untoward conduct of the Saracens living among us."<sup>3</sup> Focusing on preachers, he complained:

Your preachers, although few, do shout out, but they turn their hearing from your truth and attend to fables. The word, O Lord, of your excellent preacher [Paul], has been fulfilled: *There will be a time when they will not bear sound teaching.* (2 Timothy 4:3) . . . My heart will send forth bloody streams of tears, because I see no one who consoles those who grieve and almost no one who has any zeal, spiritually speaking, for Your Catholic faith. Such is the case throughout this miserable country of Spain in which all the dregs of Your enemies are gathered, situated as it is at the end of the world. The enemy is the heretic, the enemy is the Jew, the enemy is the Saracen, the enemy is the devil.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, in the context of the deplorable social and religious conditions in Spain, Alfonso largely blames an ignorant and corrupt clergy for doing nothing to combat the enemies of the Church. In response to this situation, Alfonso engaged himself in the preaching apostolate and set out to write the *Fortalicium Fidei* in order to defend the Catholic faith from these enemies, as he himself stated:

Therefore, O Lord my God, I have taken thought, for the glory and honor of your holy Catholic faith, and for the forgiveness of my sins, to write this book, entitled the "Fortress of Faith." I commend my purpose to your majesty, beseeching you to enlighten me with your glorious light, so that I will write those things which are pleasing to your will, for the consolation of the faithful and for the defense of your most holy faith.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The Latin text reads: "De perfidis Judeis blaphemantibus nomen tuum et inaudita crudelia, latenter facientibus in fidelibus tuis nullus est ut plurimum qui recogitet, quia munera eorum excecaverunt oculos iudicum et presidentium in clero et populo; sed et absona Saracenorum viventium inter nos ex interesse predictorum iudicum oblivioni data sunt" (fol. II, col. C).

<sup>4</sup> "Predicadores tui licet pauci clamant sed a veritate tua auditum avertunt et ad fabulas convertuntur. Impletum est Domine verbum tui predicatoris eximii: *Erit enim tempus cum sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt*" (fol. II, col. B-C). . . . Sanguineos fontes lacrimarum emittet cor meum, quia neminem video consolatorem gementium; et fere neminem zelatorem tue fidei catholice spiritualiter in hac misera Hispania in qua, sicut in fine mundi sita est, sic in ea congregatae sunt omnes feces tuorum inimicorum. Inimicus est hereticus, inimicus Iudeus, inimicus saracenus, inimicus diabolus" (fol. II, col. C).

<sup>5</sup> "Cogitavi, igitur, Domine Deus meus, propter gloriam et honorem tue sancte fidei catholice, et in remissionem delictorum meorum hunc librum scribere quem fortalicium fidei nomino, meumque intellectum tue maiestati commendo, et sic cum splendoribus lucis tue illuminare digneris, ut illa scribam que tue sint placita voluntati ad consolationem fidelium, et pro defensione tue sanctissime fidei" (fol. II, col. C, D).

He intended his three-hundred page work to be a resource book for the preachers of his day for instructing the faithful on how they were to defend themselves against the enemies of the Church, in particular Judaism and the Jews.<sup>6</sup> By his own preaching and writing of the *Fortalitium Fidei*, Alfonso believed that he was responding to the Jewish threat to the Christian faith.

The Jews evidently constituted the main enemy of the "Fortress of Faith," since over one third of the whole text is concerned with them.<sup>7</sup> Two parts of the *Fortalitium Fidei* are particularly concerned with the Jews. In Book I, Alfonso presents a number of theological arguments against Judaism, the most prominent being the messianic argument. Book Three is entitled "de bello Judeorum" ("concerning the war of the Jews"), and is made up of twelve chapters or considerations which, viewed in their entirety, constitute an "encyclopedia" of the different types of polemics against the Jews. The first three considerations deal with the alleged spiritual blindness, demonic heritage and confused state—reflected in the great diversity of beliefs—of the Jewish people. Considerations four through six address many exegetical, theological and philosophical arguments against the Jews. Considerations seven through eleven deal with material that is more historical in nature, such as the laws imposed on the Jews, the expulsions of the Jewish people from various lands, miracles that happened to these people to convince them of the truth of Christianity, etc. The twelfth and last consideration discusses the eschatological role of the Jews at the end of time.

The theological arguments against the Jews constitute Alfonso's main weapon against them. From where did the material for these arguments come for his theological dispute with the Jews, and especially, for his argument that Jesus was their long-awaited Messiah? There are basically two sources from which he had to draw for his argumentation. The first source concerns the persons who provided the models for his preaching and writing against the Jews. The second

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<sup>6</sup> This parallels the way of Bernardino of Siena, who spent a number of years at La Capriola in Italy revising his previously given sermons. As John A. Moorman comments in *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origin to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), 459: "These [sermons] were not meant to be preached, but rather provide a collection of dogmatic, moral, and ascetic theology from which preachers might draw material for their sermons."

<sup>7</sup> The Third Book is entitled "On the War of the Jews against the Fortress of Faith" and constitutes about 110 folio pages.

source was the vast anti-Jewish polemical literature available to him from which he was able to draw to compose the *Fortalitium Fidei*.

The first source—the model for his life—is derived by investigating the activities of the mendicants who were active earlier in the same century in which he lived. In other words, Alfonso was engaged in activities, especially preaching and writing, which were standard apostolic practices of that century's mendicants, especially of friars like Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) and Vicent Ferrer (c.1350–1419). Both of these mendicants were quite well known in Spain and to Alfonso in particular, especially since they were canonized during the period of Alfonso's preaching activity: Bernardino in 1450 and Vicent in 1455.<sup>8</sup> There is internal evidence from the *Fortalitium Fidei* that he was aware of the writings of both Bernardino and Vicent. There are at least three places where Bernardino is quoted in his text:

Sanctus Bernardus in suo Evangelio eterno assignat duodecim privilegia diei dominice (fol. LXXXVII, col. B)

Et hec est intentio beati Bernhardi in tractatu suo de restitutionibus que mihi placet (fol. CL, col. D)

Beatus Bernardus in suo Evangelio eterno (fol. CLXXXV, col. D)

Vicent Ferrer is quoted by Alfonso at least two times:

Sanctus Vincen(tius) in quodam sermone (fol. XV)

Quare universaliter Judei omnes ab illo fuerunt expulsi: ut notat Vincentius, vide supra, consideratione predicta et puncto in crudelitate ii. (fol. CLXIX) [on the expulsion of the Jews from France and England]

Not only was Alfonso aware of these writings, his life also shows connections with these former mendicants, in particular Bernardino of Siena; it appears, in fact, that he patterned his life on that of Bernardino. For example, as Bernardino—who was himself strongly influenced by the preaching of Vicent Ferrer—took a three-year break from his preaching ministry mainly to revise a large number of sermons at the convent of La Capriola, near Siena, in the 1430s, so also Alfonso spent many years, in the 1450s in the preaching apostolate

<sup>8</sup> On Bernardino, see Isaac Vázquez, "San Bernardino de Siena y España: Notas para una historia de la predicación popular en la Castilla del siglo XV," *Antonianum*, 55 (1980), 695–729.

before settling down to write the *Fortalitium Fidei*.<sup>9</sup>

In regard to the relationship between preaching and writing, internal evidence indicates that some of Alfonso's sermons were in circulation during the time he was writing, in the late 1450s and early 1460s, the *Fortalitium Fidei*; he tells his readers at one point in the text: "If you want to see many other most remarkable things about this most glorious name, look at the twenty-two sermons which I gave elsewhere in consideration of his honor upon the theme: His name is Jesus."<sup>10</sup> He speaks elsewhere in the text about preaching on the Christian faith at Medina del Campo in 1459.<sup>11</sup> Alfonso wrote another set of sermons on the name of Jesus (*Sermones de nomine Jesu vigintiduos*) which he speaks about in two places in the text (Book III, consideration 7, and in Book I.5).<sup>12</sup> The theme of these sermons matches the main theme of Bernardino's preaching: the Holy Name of Jesus.<sup>13</sup> It is very likely that the material Alfonso used for these sermons was incorporated into the text of the *Fortalitium Fidei*. Like Bernardino, he expected that other preachers would draw upon this material for their own sermons. The proliferation of the *Fortalitium Fidei* from 1470s onwards reveals that this expectation was fulfilled.<sup>14</sup> Concerning preachers and writers, we know that fifteenth-century

<sup>9</sup> This preaching-writing pattern has a long history, virtually from their beginning, with the mendicants. A later preacher-writer is Francisco de Osuna, who appears during the first stage of the Spanish spiritual/mystical movement of the sixteenth century.

<sup>10</sup> "Si plura alia singularissima vis videre de hoc gloriosissimo nomine vide in viginti duobus sermonibus quos alias feci ob eius honorem super themate est nomen eius Jesus" (fol. XLIII, col. A).

<sup>11</sup> These sermons are entitled *Sermones de excellentia nostrae fidei*. Alfonso states this in the *Fortalitium Fidei*, Book II, consideration 6, haeresis 1: "Cum enim predicarem anno domini 1459 in villa Metine de Campis . . . predicavi ibi plures sermones de excellentia nostre fidei damnando errores predictos" (fol. CXLVI, col. c).

<sup>12</sup> Espina states in Book III. 7, "undecima crudelitas": "Undecima crudelitas Judeorum accidit in predicto regno Castelle circa annum domini MCCCCCLIII, cum enim de nomine Jesu in villa Vallisolitana vigintiduos sermones facerem et ultimum in illa materia vellem facere" (fol. CXLVI). On Alfonso's writings, see Johannes Sbaralea, *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores*, 29–30. These sermons are in the Cathedral library at El Burgo de Osma (código 26), as reported by Gonzalo Díaz Díaz, *Hombres y documentos de la filosofía española*, vol. III (Madrid, 1988), 65. Díaz lists a MS version of the *Fortalitium Fidei* as código 154 in the same library.

<sup>13</sup> See Loman McAodha, "The Holy Name of Jesus in the Preaching of St. Bernardine of Siena," *Franciscan Studies*, 29 (1969), 37–65; and "The Nature and Efficacy of Preaching According to St. Bernardine of Siena," *Franciscan Studies*, 27 (1967), 221–47.

<sup>14</sup> The *Fortalitium Fidei* went through at least nine printings from circa 1471 to 1525.

Italian Franciscans, such as Bernardino de Bustis (c. 1450—c. 1515), made use the *Fortalitium Fidei* for their own anti-Jewish sermons and writings.<sup>15</sup>

There is another connection between Bernardino and Alfonso in their common preaching apostolate directed toward the Jews. This preaching apostolate among the friars did not originate with Bernardino; it began very early in Franciscan history, as early as the 1230s.<sup>16</sup> Pope Nicholas III, a Franciscan, made preaching to the Jews a basic component of the apostolic life of the Franciscans and Dominicans in 1278. In Nicholas' decree, entitled *Vineam soreth*, the pontiff tells the friars:

We order your discretion by apostolic writ that, trusting in him whose is the prerogative to lavish special graces, through your own efforts and those of other friars in your order whom . . . you shall know to be suitable and whose industry and theological wisdom, implanted as gifts

<sup>15</sup> Shlomo Simonsohn, in *The Apostolic See and the Jews: History* (Toronto, 1991), 331, points out that one of the main sources for the *Consilium contra Iudaeos* of the famous anti-Judaic preacher friar Bernardino de Bustis (c. 1450—c. 1515) was Alfonso's text: "The mainstay of de Bustis' thesis was the alleged wickedness of the Jews. To make this point he relied on the *Fortalitium Fidei* of Alfonso de Espina, which by then had found special favour with the adversaries of the Jews and the opponents of their continued presence in Christian society." Simonsohn points out that Bernardino was a disciple of "the ardent enemy of the Jews," friar Michele da Carcano, who was himself a disciple of friar Giovanni da Capistrano, another anti-Judaic preacher. On this same point, another scholar reports that Alfonso was also a source for an anti-Jewish sermon delivered before de Bustis wrote the *Consilium*: "Il *Consilium* venne pubblicato a seguito di una predica—l'unica di Bernardino su questo argomento—dal titolo *De reprobatione secte pagani, Mahumeti et iudei*. Già dal titolo è dunque evidente come ormai il problema ebraico venisse assimilato a quello di altre minoranze, seguendo così la strada tracciata dalla controversistica spagnola, ed in particolare da Alfonso de Spina, il cui *Fortalicium Fidei*—citato dallo stesso Bernardino—ha appunto per sottotitolo "contro gli ebrei, gli eretici, i demoni, i maomettani" (Anna Antoniazzi Villa, "A Proposito di Ebrei, Francescani, Monti di Pietà: Bernardino de Bustis e la polemica antiebraica nella Milano di fine '400," in *Il Francescanesimo in Lombardia: Storia e Arte* [Milan, 1983], 51).

<sup>16</sup> On this early preaching, see Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, 1982), 82–83. Cohen states: "In 1242, Jaime I of Aragon became the first king to compel Jewish submission to such mendicant preaching by law, a measure which drew considerable praise from Innocent IV and which Jaime renewed in 1263. Edward I in 1280 similarly ordered English Jewry to listen peacefully to the sermons of the Dominicans, and Jaime II of Aragon in 1296 even required the Jews to respond publicly to the challenges of the preaching friars." The Mendicants were also involved in such events as a public disputation with a Jew, Rabbi Meir ben Simeon of Narbonne, in the 1230s, and the public disputations of Paris (1240) and Barcelona (1263). On Mendicant preaching in general, see D. L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), and the bibliography there.

from the Lord, may shine dauntlessly for the Catholic faith and not falter in their clarity but enlighten confused souls by the repercussion of their rays and overcome the obstinacy of the perverse Jews, you be zealous, according to the grace given you by the Lord, in leading back to the way of clarity such people in the province entrusted to you who have been cut off by the darkness of the shadows. Summon them to sermons in the places where they live, in large and small groups, repeatedly, as many times as you may think beneficial. Inform them of evangelical doctrines with salutary warnings and discreet reasonings, so that after the clouds of darkness have gone, they may shine in the light of Christ's countenance, having been reborn at the baptismal font.<sup>17</sup>

Preaching to the Jews, and preaching about Jews and Judaism to a Christian audience, was a form of ministry that certain friars were engaged in throughout the Middle Ages and became an established form of the apostolate in the fifteenth century, as evidenced by papal documents and sermon collections.<sup>18</sup> A number of the better known friars were engaged in this preaching activity, including not only Bernardino of Siena, but also Giovanni da Capistrano, Giacomo of the Marches, and Bernardino da Feltre.<sup>19</sup> Many of these friars were from the early Observant reform branch of the Order.<sup>20</sup> The content

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 83. The themes of light and darkness, so vivid here in this papal bull, are very popular in polemical literature. The theme of Alphonso's first section in Book III is the blindness of the Jews, and he divides the argument in two parts: "First, that which is the cause of their blindness. Second, if it can be healed so that they might be led back to the light ("Circa primam considerationem qua est de Judeorum cecitate duo sunt videnda. Primum, quae est causa cecitatis eorum. Secundum, si potuit sanari ut reducantur ad lumen") [fol. LXXVII-LXXIX]. Preaching to the Jewish community had already been a part of the ministry of the friars in the thirteenth century, but in 1278 this apostolate received official papal recognition.

<sup>18</sup> Papal documents of the fifteenth century, for example, prohibit the friars from inciting the Christian populace to riot against the Jews. For other examples, see Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See*, 711-13, no. 614; 720, no. 620; and 771, no. 658.

<sup>19</sup> There are numerous studies of Mendicant preaching in the fifteenth century. A good introduction is found in Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 517-32. Among other studies, see *Predicazione francescana società veneta nel Quattrocento: committenza, ascolto, ricezione: Atti del II Convegno internazionale di studi francescani* (Padua, 26-28 Marzo 1987); and Bernadette Theresa Paton, "Preaching Friars and the Civil Ethos in Late Medieval Italian Commune: Siena 1380-1480," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1986.

<sup>20</sup> Cecil Roth, in *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946), 154, reports that "Formerly it had been the Dominican Order of 'preaching' friars, the Church's watchdogs against heresy, who had been the arch-enemies of the Jews and the leaders in so many persecutions. Now, for a space, the Observantine Franciscans took the primacy. Moving as they did among the destitute, they heard complaints on all



of these sermons almost always included suggestions for restrictive measures against the Jews, which included the prohibition of friendly relations with Jews, Jewish employment and land ownership.<sup>21</sup> The goal of these restrictions was the complete segregation of the Jews from Christians.

Usury or moneylending was a special subject of the friar's sermons, especially those of Bernardino of Siena.<sup>22</sup> This mendicant opposition to Jewish moneylending in preaching found more concrete form in the Monte di Pietà movement of the second half of the fifteenth century. Alfonso himself spoke of usury as one of the seven ways in which Jews exploited Christians.<sup>23</sup> This is one place where he mentions Bernardino and his work "On Restitutions" (*De Restitutionibus*), a text he said was to his liking: "Et hec est intentio beati Bernardi in tractatu suo de restitutionibus que mihi placet."<sup>24</sup> Alfonso also spoke of the segregation of the Jews, various restrictive measures, and other such topics that were the main features of mendicant preaching against the Jews in the fifteenth century.

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sides against the ubiquitous Jewish moneylender or pawnbroker, whose presence was so much appreciated when a loan was required but so resented when payment was due. The opposition thus aroused, originally economic, extended more and more, until in the end the godly followers of the gentle Friar of Assisi seemed to become filled with a veritable frenzy and attacked the Jews everywhere, at all times and on all grounds, in the most unmeasured language and with little regard for probability or truth."

<sup>21</sup> Roth, *Jews of Italy*, 154, states that "From every pulpit, in season and out—but especially at Eastertide, when memories of the Passion of Jesus were renewed—wandering preachers now inveighed against the familiarity between Jews and Christians in the new settlements and pressed for the enforcement of the old canonical restrictions intended to cut them off from any sort of intercourse with the faithful." For example, Bernardino of Siena preached against the Jews in Umbria, Viterbo, and Orvieto in 1427. As a result of the preaching of James of the Marches in Ancona, the Jews were forced to wear the infamous Jewish badge and were segregated into a separate quarter of the city.

<sup>22</sup> Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 463, states: "Among the practices which he denounced with the utmost vigour was that of usury. 'The usurer,' he said, 'is the murderer of the poor man. He takes away his garments, his shoes, his house, his field, his bed, his food and drink, and all his livelihood.' Since money-lending was largely practiced by Jews, Bernardino implored Christians to have nothing to do with Jews, declaring it a mortal sin to eat and drink with a Jew, and saying that, if he had his way, he would make all Jews wear special marks on their clothes so that everyone would recognize them and avoid them." Usury became the special focus of the Observants in the second half of the fifteenth century and gave rise to the Monte di Pietà movement, about which we will speak below.

<sup>23</sup> Book III, consideration 7, seventh crudelitas, fol. CL–CLI "In usuris in quibus expoliant Christianos."

<sup>24</sup>  *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CL, col. D.

The Dominican Vicent Ferrer spent from 1399 to his death in 1419 on long missionary journeys preaching about “the imminence of the coming of Antichrist, the terrors of the impending *dies irae*, the awful finalities of the Last Judgment.”<sup>25</sup> Vicent, identified by many as the Angel with the Eternal Evangel (from the Apocalypse), was preoccupied with the end times. This preoccupation explains his “concern with the evangelization of the Jews in Spain, for he shared the traditional belief that their conversion would be one of the signs of the imminence of the last days.”<sup>26</sup> Alfonso shared this belief that the end times were at hand: he concluded the twelfth and last consideration of Book III, *de Judeorum conversione in fine seculi*, with a presentation of the nine signs which were to signal the end times. He stated at the end of this presentation: “See and consider carefully, attentive reader, if perhaps one will discover at present some of the aforementioned signs in the crippled (wounded) world, and hasten back most diligently to the strongest defense, Jesus Christ our Lord, who is *a strong tower against the enemy* (Psalm 61:3).”<sup>27</sup> Alfonso believed that this was the time when the Jews would accept and follow the Antichrist. He also believed that they would come to an awareness of the deception of this enemy of Christ, and then at last be converted to the Christian faith. Thus, Vicent and Alfonso both held that the prophecies of the end times were being fulfilled in their respective days.

In Alfonso’s presentation of the nine signs marking the end times, Bernardino’s name appears along with Augustine and Arnau de

<sup>25</sup> Francis Oakley, in *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1979), 261, states: “According to the view already prevailing at the time of his canonization [1455], he was to be taken above all as ‘the preacher of the end of the world.’ He was seen as a prophetic figure tirelessly crisscrossing France, Spain, northern Italy, and parts of Switzerland, where he delivered around 6,000 lengthy sermons to some 200,000 people, remorselessly focusing their attention on the imminence of the coming of Antichrist, the terrors of the impending *dies irae*, the awful finalities of the Last Judgment.” On Ferrer, see Laureano Robles, *Escritores Dominicos de la Corona de Aragon, siglos XII–XV* (Salamanca, 1972), 193–229.

<sup>26</sup> Oakley, *The Western Church*, 262. On Ferrer’s preaching tour of Castile of 1411–1412, which was aimed in part at the conversion of Jews, see Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. Louis Schoffman (Philadelphia, 1961–66), 2:166–67. On other preaching instances of Ferrer with Jews, see Baer’s comments at 2:477–78 n. 51.

<sup>27</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CLXXXVI, col. A: “Videat et contempletur diligens lector si forte mundum in presenti inveniet aliquibus de predictis signis vulneratum, et recurat diligentissime ad fortissimum defensorem Iesum Christum dominum nostrum, qui est *turris fortitudis a facie inimici* cuius singulari presidio fides Christianorum inviolabilis sine fine perseveret.”

Vilanova. He mentions another "great preacher" ("magnus predicator") who was preaching in 1410, which may very well be Vicent Ferrer, since, as already mentioned, Ferrer's sermons were known by him.<sup>28</sup> Bernardino and Vicent, therefore, were very influential for Alfonso's apocalyptic vision regarding the arrival of the Antichrist and the conversion of the Jews, and they consequently can be considered a major influence on Alfonso and his *Fortalitium Fidei*.

Other names familiar to those knowledgeable of Christian anti-Jewish polemical literature, which appear in this last part of Book III, include Nicholas of Lyra, Petrus Alfonsi, Magister Alfonsus (Abner of Burgos), Magister Johannes de Valladolid, Paul of Burgos (Pablo de Santa María), and Gerónimo de Santa Fè (Hieronymus de Sancta Fidei). These individuals contributed greatly to the theological—and specifically messianic—argument of Alfonso de Espina.

In twelve "treasuries" (comprising twenty-five folio pages) of Book I and twenty-two arguments of the fourth and fifth "considerationes" of Book III (twenty-two pages), Alfonso presents his major arguments that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah. An analysis of the sources that make up these Messiah sections of the *Fortalitium Fidei* reveals that there are only three treasuries in Book I where Alfonso does not mention the source of his argument (and which I have not been able to trace to earlier sources). These three brief arguments—that the Messiah should be poor and gentle, that he was to die in great humility and between thieves, and that he was to die because of the sins of humanity—were not new to the Christian anti-Jewish argument; they were standard arguments in polemical literature.<sup>29</sup>

Often Alfonso cited the text which he was borrowing from and other times he borrowed material without indicating its source.<sup>30</sup> The

<sup>28</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CLXXXV, col. A: "Quidam etiam alius magnus predicator per orbem discurrens circa annum domini Mccccx in sermone. Ecce hic positus est in ruinam declaravit tempore suo iam natum esse antichristum per plures visiones et exempla cuius oppositum patet." Significantly, Vicent Ferrer was canonized in 1455, which happened during the time of Alfonso's itinerant preaching days.

<sup>29</sup> These arguments were so standard that Alfonso probably believed that they did not deserve much attention and that the sources did not need to be mentioned.

<sup>30</sup> It was common practice in the transmission of polemical literature of this period that all sources for the argument would not be indicated. One should not see in this lack of attention to sources an evil or bad intent in Alfonso, as does Ben Zion Netanyahu ("Alonso de Espina," 144) who holds that Alfonso tried to pass himself off as "a Hebrew scholar, an expert on Judaism, and a master of rabbinic literature." The purpose for writing the *Fortalitium Fidei* was to create an easily accessible preaching resource book for other preachers and the Christian faithful. This purpose determined to a large extent the organization, style, and contents of the text.

appendix to this article lists the sources for his messianic argument.<sup>31</sup> One observes immediately that Alfonso borrowed extensively from the Fathers of the Church (especially Augustine and Jerome), philosophers (especially Aristotle and Avicenna), and Christian anti-Judaic polemical writers. Other writers from which Alfonso borrowed from include Isidore of Seville, Alan of Lille, and Bernardo Oliver. Traces of the *Acta* of the Tortosa Disputation of 1413–14 and the *Pugio Fidei* of the thirteenth-century Dominican Ramon Martí also appear in the *Fortalitium Fidei*. It appears that he gathered together the most important texts in Christian anti-Jewish polemics, reviewed them, and then selected the passages which he considered to provide the most convincing arguments for the messiahship of Jesus.

Rather than present all these arguments, it is perhaps useful to illustrate how Alfonso uses his sources by focusing on one particular argument, specifically how, in Book III, consideration five, argument three, Alfonso attempts to refute Jewish assertions that Jesus is not the true Messiah because no holy woman is numbered in his genealogy. This is a particularly good example of how he weaves together a number of different texts for his own argumentation.<sup>32</sup> Alfonso's putative Jewish adversaries claimed that the four women mentioned in Jesus' genealogy (Matthew 1)—Thamar, Rahab, Ruth and Bathsheba—could not be classified as holy women, and actually were sinners. Alfonso answered that the Jews have overlooked Mary, who is included in Matthew's genealogy. It is her sanctity which proves the messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth.

Instead of using Christian sources—since only the faithful believe these are inspired—Alfonso decided to prove the holiness of Mary through Jewish and Muslim writings. By Jewish writings, Alfonso means principally the Hebrew Scriptures, but the term also signifies the Septuagint, the Aramaic translation of the Scriptures, the tractate Sabbath from the Mishnah, and the commentaries of Rashi and Rabbi Barachias. The Muslim writings which support Alfonso's argument

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<sup>31</sup> Literature used to help discover these earlier polemical sources are: Benzion Netanyahu, "Alonso de Espina"; Mario Esposito, "Notes sur le 'Fortalitium Fidei'"; Francisco Machado, *The Mirror of the New Christians (Espelho de Christãos Novos)*, ed. and trans. Frank Ephraim Talmage and Mildred Evelyn Vieira (Toronto, 1977); A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird's-eye View of Christian Apologia [to the Jews] Until the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1935).

<sup>32</sup> For a fuller treatment of this argument based on Isaiah 7, see my *Was Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah? Alphonso de Espina's Argument Against the Jews in His 'Fortalitium Fidei,' c. 1464* (Atlanta, 1994).

are a few passages from the Qur'ān and a few sayings of the Prophet.

The foundational scripture passage used to prove the sanctity of Mary is Isaiah 7:10–16, especially verse 7:14: *Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call him Immanuel*. Alfonso presented the argument in this way:

The Jews speak against that glorious sign of the virginal conception, attacking it and considering as impossible that a virgin, remaining a virgin, should conceive and bear a son, declaring and affirming that the quoted text of Isaiah, namely, *behold the virgin*, etc. is not to be understood as we Christians and the Catholic faith affirm about a virgin, the glorious Virgin Mary.<sup>33</sup>

Alfonso claimed that the Jews bring forth five arguments against the Christian interpretation of Isaiah 7:14. The first argument concerns the sign of liberation given to King Ahaz of Judah (735–715 B.C.E.), a sign which the Jews claim cannot refer to the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Secondly, the Jews argue that the Hebrew word *'almah* does not refer to a virgin but to a young girl. Thirdly, the Jews point out that Jesus is never called Emmanuel in the Gospels. Fourthly, the Jews argue that the prophecy must refer to a son—either Ezekiam, the son of Ahaz, or the son of Isaiah. Lastly, the Jews bring forth Isaiah 8:4 (*Before the boy might know to call the father or mother, the power of Damascus shall be carried away*) and point out that if this text refers to Jesus, it proves that “there was ignorance in the Christ, which Christians consider false, because they say that he [Jesus Christ] possessed the fullness of knowledge from the moment of his conception.”<sup>34</sup>

Then, with the use of earlier polemical material, Alfonso systematically answered these five arguments, endeavoring to prove that Jesus was indeed the Messiah. Nicholas of Lyra's commentary (or *Postillae*) on Isaiah 7–8 and his *Contra Judaeos* figure prominently in the whole argument. In fact, the first argument, on the meaning of the sign of liberation given to Ahaz, is drawn almost entirely from his commentary on Isaiah 7:14–16. The Jews interpret this as the

<sup>33</sup> *Fortalitiū Fidei*, fol. CXI, col. C: “Sed isti glorioso signo de conceptu virgineo contra-dicunt Judei illud impugnantes et pro impossibili reputantes quod virgo existens virgo concipiat et pariat filium asserentes et affirmantes quod textus Ysaie allegatus, scilicet *ecce virgo* et cetera, non intelligitur sicut nos Christiani et fides Catholica affirmat de virgine gloriosa virgine Maria.”

<sup>34</sup> *Fortalitiū Fidei*, fol. CXI, col. B: “Antequam sciat puer vocare patrem aut matrem auferetur fortitudo Damasci; igitur in Christo fuit ignorantia quod Christiani reputant falsum, quia dicunt quod habuit plenitudinem scientie ab instanti sue conceptionis.”

sign of liberation given to King Ahaz from the kings of Syria and Israel, who wanted Ahaz to join their coalition against Assyria. According to Alfonso, the Jews argue that since Christ was born five hundred years after the lifetime of Ahaz, this sign could not be of the future incarnation of Christ and his conception from the Virgin Mary.<sup>35</sup>

Alfonso answered this challenge by pointing out that the sign was originally offered to Ahaz, but since he did not believe God, the sign was then given to the house of David: *Hear then, O house of David!* Since the sign was given to the house of David, anyone belonging to that house could receive the sign. In response to the argument that the sign could not be given for an event five hundred years in the future, Alfonso claims that there are actually two types of signs: one type of sign forecasts a future effect and the other, the “rememorative” sign (*signum rememorativum*), looks back at an event which has happened as a confirmation of a promise given in the more distant past.<sup>36</sup> The sign, therefore, intended to be given to Ahaz was a rememorative sign and it was actually given to the house of David in the persons of Mary and Joseph, who were members of it. Ahaz could not receive the sign because “he was an idolater and unbeliever” and therefore “he did not believe the word of the prophet that was given [as] a sign of the far-distant future, so that he would not see it personally, just as he did not believe it in his own mind.”<sup>37</sup> The sign was not for the temporal liberation of Jerusalem in the time of Ahaz, as the Jews hold, but for the spiritual liberation of the human race from the devil: “The siege of the human race by demons is spiritually signified by the siege of the city of Jerusalem at the hands of

<sup>35</sup> Ahaz actually lived seven hundred years before Jesus of Nazareth.

<sup>36</sup> These two signs are, according to Espina: “One sign which forecasts a future effect, as a sign of the future victory was given to Gideon in the fleece (Judges 6:36-40). A second is a rememorative sign as regards a past effect, as the sign was given to Moses in Exodus 3:12: *This is the sign you will have that it is I who have sent you: when you lead my people out of Egypt you will worship on this mountain*, namely, giving thanks for that commission which is imposed on you” (fol. CXI, col. A). According to a Latin Thomistic dictionary, there are three types of signs in scholastic thought: *signum demonstrativum* refers to the demonstrative or indicative sign of something present; *signum praenuntiativum* or *prognosticum* is the announcing or prophesying sign of something future; and the *signum rememorativum* is the sign of something past. On this point, see Roy J. Deferrari, *A Latin-English Dictionary of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Boston, 1960), s.v. “signum,” 967–68.

<sup>37</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CXI, col. A: “Ipse autem sicut erat malus et ydolatra et incredulus non credidit Ysaie; et Ysaia dixit sibi quod peteret signum sue liberationis ex quo sibi credebatur . . . Achaz fuit incredulus verbo prophete quod daretur signum in longinquum: ut ipse in propria persona non videret sicut in mente non credebatur.”

those kings and the fact that the virgin would conceive and bear a son was a sign that the human race is to be liberated from the siege of the devil."<sup>38</sup> The first argument, therefore, is centered on the question of what type of sign was given and whether this sign was intended to speak of the temporal liberation of Jerusalem at the time of Ahaz or of a spiritual liberation in the future.

For the second argument centered on the Hebrew word *'almah* (Isaiah 7:14), Alfonso relies heavily on the works of Petrus Alfonsi, Nicholas of Lyra and Gerónimo de Sante Fé.<sup>39</sup> The controversy is centered on the Hebrew words *'almah*, *na'arah* and *bethulah*. Just as it is in the Christian polemical tradition, Alfonso states:

The first, *na'arah*, stands for an adult female of tender years without regard to virginity or its absence. The second, *bethulah*, is taken for a virgin without regard to the age, namely, a young adult or an older person. But the third word, *'almah*, stands for a woman and has two connotations, namely, that of adolescence and that of virginity; and because those two modalities existed together in the Blessed Virgin, therefore the divinely enlightened prophet wrote *'almah* and not another of the words mentioned above.<sup>40</sup>

Here, Alfonso simply borrowed from the works of Petrus Alfonsi and Nicholas of Lyra for the majority of his argument. From the former, he quotes Petrus' comments on the three Hebrew words in question. From the latter, he quotes Nicholas' commentary on *'almah*, which was simply a reiteration of Jerome:

In this passage [Isaiah 7:14], that *halum* means "a hiding" and thence it is said "a hidden *halma*," which means a young girl hidden from the eyes of men; because in this fashion there is no doubt about her

<sup>38</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CXI, col. A: "Per obsidionem civitatis Hierusalem ab istis regibus significatur spiritualiter obsidio generis humani a demonibus, et quod genus humanum debuerit ab obsidione dyaboli liberari signum fuit quod virgo conciperet et pareret filium."

<sup>39</sup> Of the three, only Gerónimo de Sante Fé is not mentioned by name.

<sup>40</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CXI, col. A: "[Dicendum quod in Hebreo sunt tria vocabula quasi idem significantia, scilicet nahra, betula, halma;] primum accipitur pro muliere adolescente paucorum dierum non habendo respectum ad virginitatem vel corruptionem. Secundum accipitur pro virgine non habendo respectum ad etatem, scilicet adolescens iuvenis vel senex. Tercium vero accipitur pro muliere habendo duos respectus, scilicet ad adolescentiam et virginitatem, et quia ista duo simul fuerunt in beata virgine, ideo propheta divinitus illustratus posuit halma et non aliquod aliud de vocabulis supradictis."

chastity and integrity, especially when the letter *he* is prefixed and then *he'alma* is written.<sup>41</sup>

Both authors go on to say that there are three women who are described in such a way: Rebecca (*na'arah* in Genesis 24:14), a girl who draws water at a well (*he'alma* in Genesis 24:43) and Mary, the sister of Moses (*he'alma* in Exodus 2:8). All these women were virgins most pure. The reason the prophet chose *he'almah* in Isaiah 7:14 was to show a woman who was both young and a virgin. That she conceived and gave birth while remaining a virgin was intended to be miraculous to match the miraculous sign of the liberation of Jerusalem which was given to Ahaz. It would be no miracle for a woman to conceive and bear a son while not remaining a virgin. Rashi is quoted by Alfonso as saying that this sign was supposed to be an exceedingly miraculous sign, like the raising of a dead person or stopping the sun (as did Joshua). Alfonso states that only a virgin birth would fulfill the requirements for the miraculous sign. Rashi, on the other hand, interprets this sign to mean that

the name 'Immanuel' ('God with us') was given to the child by Isaiah's wife, and that it is the revelatory content of this name which constitutes the sign. She is described as a prophetess (*he'alma* in Isaiah 8:3, and the bestowing of the name 'Immanuel' is supposed to have marked the opening of her prophetic career, the first occasion on which she was inspired by the Holy Spirit. Rashi considers another account of the extraordinary character of the sign: the mother would bear the child before she had reached the age of child-bearing.<sup>42</sup>

Neither Alfonso nor Nicholas responded at this point to Rashi's position that the son is Isaiah's son; they did so when discussing Isaiah 8:1–4. Rather, Alfonso simply stated that the real miracle would be a virgin birth. Miracles are actions which are impossible for humans but are possible for God; and the virgin birth of Jesus by Mary is the classic miracle.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CXI, col. D: "In hoc passu quod halum significat absconsionem, et inde dicitur halma abscondita que significat iuenculam aspectibus hominum absconditam: ita quod de eius pudicia et integritate non dubitatur maxime quando preponitur litera he, et tunc sonat healma."

<sup>42</sup> William McKane, *Selected Christian Hebraists* (Cambridge, 1989), 72. McKane (p. 73) states further that "the extraordinary nature of the sign is the circumstance that the mother in question bears a child before she has reached the age of menstruation." On Nicholas of Lyra's rebuttal of Rashi's position, see Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (Pittsburgh, 1963), 165–66.

<sup>43</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CXII, col. A: "And therefore Augustine, preaching against



Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi* is a source for argument three, which concerns the name Immanuel: the Jews claim that Christ was not called Emmanuel, but Jesus, which is clear from the second chapter of the Gospel of Luke. Alfonso responded to this challenge by stating that there are two definitions of the word "name." A name may express a personal function/attribute or it may express a property or some excellent virtue. Jesus Christ was called Emmanuel "because of his excellence and because in his person the divine and human natures alike are joined together."<sup>44</sup> Concerning the phrase *he will be called Emmanuel*, Alfonso held that this means that Mary called him Emmanuel [spiritually] by adoring him as both true God and a human being.<sup>45</sup> According to Petrus Alfonsi, whom he is quoting at this point, she speaks the word *vocabis* ("you will call") because it was fitting that she—and not the supposed father—name him, an act which also confirms her virginity.

The fourth question, largely borrowed from Nicholas of Lyra's commentary on Isaiah 8, concerns verses 2–4 of that chapter.<sup>46</sup> The question is over who the son or child was in this prophecy. Certain Jews held that Isaiah was speaking of Hezekiah, while others said the son of Isaiah. As to Hezekiah, Alfonso says that it is impossible that the prophecy was made about him since he would have been thirteen years old when the prophecy was announced.<sup>47</sup> There is also the

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the Jews, says in a sermon on the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin: What are God's miracles except things which are impossible for human beings? The one who wrote on tablets without a stylus made Mary pregnant by the Holy Spirit; the one who multiplied bread in the desert without moisture impregnated the virgin without the loss of her virginity; and the one who made the branch blossom without rain made the daughter of David to generate without seed (Et ideo Augustinus contra Judeos in sermone annunciationis beate virginis dicit: Que sunt Dei miracula nisi que sunt hominibus impossibilia qui scripsit tabulas sine stilo ferreo, ipse gravidavit Mariam de spiritu sancto, qui multiplicavit panes in deserto sine rore, ipse virginem impregnavit sine corruptione, et qui fecit virgam sine pluvia germinare ipse fecit David filiam sine semine generare)."

<sup>44</sup> *Fortalium Fidei*, fol. CXII, col. A: "quia in eius supposito divina natura pariter et humana simul coniunguntur."

<sup>45</sup> *Fortalium Fidei*, fol. CXII, col. A: "Unde Emanuel interpretatur nobiscum Deus quo nomine sepe vocavit eum Maria, ipsum ut verum Deum et hominem adorando, et ita impletur litera Hebraica que habet ut illa hehalma vocabit nomen eius Hemanuel."

<sup>46</sup> The English translation of Isaiah 8:2–4 reads: *I took unto me faithful witnesses, Urias the priest, and Zacharias, the son of Barachias; I went to the prophetess who conceived, and bore a son. Then the Lord said to me, Call his name Ma'her-shal'al-hash-baz; for before the child knows how to cry 'My father' or 'My mother,' the wealth of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria will be carried away before the king of Assyria.*

<sup>47</sup> The calculation goes like this: Ahaz reigned for sixteen years. The prophecy was made during his fourth year. Hezekiah was twenty five years old when he

possibility that Isaiah was speaking of his own wife and son about to be born. As previously discussed, it was Rashi's opinion that the young woman was Isaiah's wife and the son was their child. Rashi states:

*The young woman, my wife, shall conceive this year—and this was in the fourth year [of the reign] of Ahaz. And she shall call his name—The Holy Spirit will rest upon her; and she shall call his name Immanuel, as if it is said, that “our Rock be with us.” And this is the sign: “For behold she is a maiden, and she hath not prophesied all her days, and in this [i.e. by her calling him Immanuel before his birth], shall the Holy Spirit rest upon her.”*<sup>48</sup>

Two reasons are given by Alfonso why the son of Isaiah cannot be the son. Firstly, there is no mention of him anywhere in Scripture and thus, “according to Jerome, with the same ease in which [the proposition] is said, it is rejected.”<sup>49</sup> Secondly, this interpretation is wrong because the prophet Isaiah could not have lived at the same time as the two witnesses of Isaiah 8:2. These two witnesses could not have been Urias, the son of Semei (or the Urias who lived in the time of Joachim), or Zacharias, the son of Barachias, as they did not live in the time of Isaiah. At this point, Alfonso has told us who these characters of Isaiah 7 and 8 could not have been. Who, then, was he speaking of? Alfonso answered that the voice belonged to “God, [in the divine person of] the Holy Spirit, who took on the role of those aforementioned two witnesses and *went to the prophetess*, that is, to the Virgin Mary, who had the spirit of prophecy and *conceived and bore a son*, Jesus Christ our savior.”<sup>50</sup> The two witnesses

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began to reign. Therefore he was not only born when the prophecy was uttered but was actually thirteen years old. Nicholas of Lyra states that Rashi did not believe that Hezekiah was the son: “Rabbi Solomon rejects this statement through this, because Hezekiah was twenty-five years old when he began to reign immediately after Ahaz, his father, as it is said in IV kings 18:[2]; but Ahaz reigned only for sixteen years, as it is said in IV Kings 16:[2]; therefore in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, *before* this prophecy could be said, Hezekiah was already born, and was nine years old—and thus this scripture cannot be understood as referring to Hezekiah. And even to the statement of Rabbi Solomon, it can be augmented, because according to him and according to the Catholic doctors, this prophecy was spoken in the fourth year of the reign of Ahaz, and thus Hezekiah then not only was nine years old, but also thirteen years—therefore it cannot be understood as referring to him” (quoted in Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, 165, Latin text on 307–8).

<sup>48</sup> Quoted in Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, 165.

<sup>49</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CXII, col. B: “Secundum ergo Hieronymum eadem facilitate que dicitur contempnitur.”

<sup>50</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CXII, col. C: “Deus, Spiritus Sanctus, assumpsit istos duos

were "Uriah, the son of Shemai'ah, who it was said, prophesied many bad things against the state which came to pass during the Babylonian captivity,"<sup>51</sup> and Zacharias, the son of Barachias, who prophesied many good things, especially about the coming of the Messiah in Zechariah 9:9: *Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, behold your king comes to you, the just and savior, etc.*"<sup>52</sup> These two did not live in the time of Isaiah either, but since it is God who acts, there is no problem since "the past and future in their entirety [are] present to God, and thus he speaks about the past and about the future as he speaks about the present."<sup>53</sup> Therefore the correct interpretation is the Holy Spirit went to the prophetess, the Virgin Mary, who conceived and bore a son in this special way.

For the conclusion of this fourth argument, Alfonso borrowed his material from Nicholas of Lyra, who stated:

And consequently, since the witness ought to accord with the thing testified, the going to the prophetess was not corporeal, nor a contemporary event, but spiritual, and a long way off in the future, according

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testes supradictos et accessit ad prophetissam, id est ad virginem Mariam que habuit spiritum prophetie et concepit et peperit filium Ihesum Christum salvatorem nostrum."

<sup>51</sup> Alfonso identified Uriah with the prophet of Jerusalem mentioned in Jeremiah 26:20–23.

<sup>52</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CXII, col. C: "Urias filius Semey de quo dictum est qui prophetavit multa mala contra civitatem que venerunt in captivitate Babilonica, et Zacharias filius Barachie qui prophetavit multa bona specialiter de adventu messie Zacharie ix, *Exulta satis filia Syon, ecce rex tuus venit tibi iustus et salvator, et cetera.*" Alfonso, following Nicholas of Lyra, found that the Targum for Isaiah 8:2 supported his claims about these witnesses. The Targum, according to the Latin translation, reads: "And I have cited as witness the evil judgments, on my part which I said in the prophecy of Urias the priest—it will surely come to pass—so, I am about to bring to fruition all the consolation which—I have foretold in the prophecy of Zacharias, son of Barachias—would come to pass: *and I went to the prophetess and she conceived and bore, etc.* (et contestatus sum contestationes malas ex parte mea quas dixi venturas in prophetia Urie sacerdotis esse—futurum est quoque—sic omnem consolationem quam dixi venturam in prophetia Zacharie filii Barachie ego adducturus sum et accessi ad prophetissam et concepit et peperit, et cetera)" [fol. CXII, col. D].

<sup>53</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CXII, col. C: "Et quando dicitur quod adhuc non fuerunt nati, sed futuri erant. Hic est dicendum quod non obstat quia preteritum et futurum totum est Deo presens: et ita loquitur de preterito et de futuro sicut de presenti." Hailperin reports that Lyra, from whom Alfonso is borrowing his ideas, is in accord with the rabbis on the two witnesses: "With reference to Lyra's construing of v. 2, let it be noted that he was in line with Rashi and with the old rabbinic sources—Midrash, Talmud, and Targum—which understood the passage in Isaiah to mean: God spoke to Isaiah: the good tidings prophesied by the prophet Zechariah will be fulfilled, just as the evil foretold by Uriah (Micah 3:12 and Jer. 26:18–20) was fulfilled; according to this rabbinic view, Isaiah had no real relations whatsoever with Zechariah or Uriah" (quoted in Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, 168).

to which we read in Luke 1: [35], "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee." So far as that the blessed Virgin Mary was a prophetess is evident from Luke 1:[48] where she prophesied about her own future veneration, saying, "All generations shall call me blessed"—because among all peoples there are some Christians who call her blessed; and not only by Christians is she called blessed, but also Saracens.<sup>54</sup>

The fifth and last argument concerns the child's lack of knowledge, which is suggested in Isaiah 8:4.<sup>55</sup> Alfonso borrowed from Nicholas of Lyra's *Tractatus contra quendam Judeum* for this argument concerning Jesus' human knowledge. Alfonso simply pointed out that this verse was speaking about human knowledge (knowledge in time), which Christ acquired by becoming incarnate in human flesh. He finished the argument simply by stating: "Before he acquired that knowledge, the liberation of people spoken of in the prophecy of Isaiah, was already fulfilled."<sup>56</sup>

After these five arguments have been sufficiently answered, Alfonso judged that no one should have any trouble in declaring the sanctity of Mary.<sup>57</sup> Because of her sanctity and membership in the house of David, she was able to be the fulfillment of the sign originally intended for Ahaz. Proof was attempted, as we have seen, through a variety of exegetical and historical arguments.

<sup>54</sup> Quoted from Hailperin's translation as found in *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, 168.

<sup>55</sup> *For before the child knows how to cry 'My father' or 'My mother,' the wealth of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria will be carried away before the king of Assyria.*

<sup>56</sup> *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol. CXII, col. D: "antequam illam [scientiam in tempore] haberet, liberatio populi denunciata per Ysaïam completa fuit."

<sup>57</sup> A number of other scriptural sources, according to Alfonso, confirm her sanctity. The first comes from the interpretation of the *mem*-syllable of the Hebrew word *lemarbe* of Isaiah 9:6 which is confirmed by the tractate *Sabbath* of the Talmud. Secondly, the text of Isaiah 11:1 is to be understood about Mary and Jesus: Jesus is compared to a flower because, "just as a blossom appears on a tree without the harming of the tree, so Christ will be born of his mother without the destruction of her virginity." Thirdly, Mary did not feel the pain of labor or birth which fulfills Isaiah 66:7: *Before she was in labor, she brought forth*. Further, Mary conceived Jesus and enveloped him in her virginal womb which is foretold in Jeremiah 31:22: *The Lord will do a new thing upon the earth; a woman will envelop a man*. It is totally new for a woman to have brought her child into the world while her virginity remained intact. Mary's virginity was also symbolized in "the gate" of Ezekiel 44:2: *And my Lord said to me: this gate shall not be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall pass through it because the Lord God of Israel has entered in through it, and it shall be shut*. Her sanctity is also confirmed, Alfonso asserts, by Jewish and Muslim sources.

Alfonso bolsters the sanctification of Mary with a number of other scripture passages (Isaiah 9:7, Isaiah 66:7, Jeremiah 31:22 and Ezekiel 44:2), borrowing from the writings of Bonaventure and Nicholas of Lyra. He then moves to find support in Muslim writings—a few passages from the Qur'an (Sūrah III.42, 45, and 47) and a few sayings of the prophet—which Alfonso did not discover himself but which were borrowed from Nicholas of Lyra's *Postillae* on Isaiah 7.<sup>58</sup>

Based on a review of this particular messianic argument—and an investigation of the entire messianic argument in the *Fortalitium Fidei*—one can conclude that Alfonso's presentation on the sanctification of Mary is a patchwork of a number of different anti-Jewish polemical texts. His own contribution to the argument is his re-wording and arrangement of the borrowed material. An examination of Alfonso's overall argument against the Jews reveals that he was quite knowledgeable of the significant Christian anti-Jewish literature available in the Middle Ages and used much of it; the *Fortalitium Fidei* presents an account of almost all the significant arguments in the Christian theological arsenal against the Jews. As evidenced by the review of the third argument of the fifth Consideration of Book III, it is clear, however, that, in most cases, Alfonso usually pieced together earlier polemical material to form his own exegetical arguments. Some arguments, generally of shorter length, are based on a single polemical source. Alfonso was original neither in his argumentation nor in his conclusions.

The principal value of the *Fortalitium Fidei* was in the way Alfonso gathered, organized, and transmitted to posterity previously written anti-Jewish material. In the last section of Book I, for example, he devotes twelve arguments to prove to the Jews that Jesus of Nazareth was their Messiah. The first three arguments speak of the time of the coming of the Messiah, i.e. Jesus, his progeny, and why he had to give a new law, the last of which is basically a comparison between the Law given by Moses and the Gospel Law of Jesus Christ. Sections four through ten focus on Jesus' historic life, that is, on his place of birth, name, veneration, way of living, way of dying, cause of death, and resurrection—these aspects of the life of Jesus are presented to demonstrate how Jesus fulfilled the prophecies concerning the Messiah who was to come. The eleventh section concerns the

<sup>58</sup> These sayings of Muḥammad are in the collections of Ḥadīth named al-Bukhārī, Kātib al-Faḍā'il, and Mishkāṭ al-Masābih.

reward of those who believe in Jesus Christ, and the twelfth speaks of the present and future punishment of the persecutors of Jesus. Alfonso's arrangement of these arguments made his text an easily accessible tool for preachers looking for appropriate material for their sermons.<sup>59</sup> Since the *Fortalitium Fidei* was printed at least nine times between 1470 and 1525, we know that many preachers considered this text to contain the material needed to defeat would-be enemies of the Church.

If all the Jewish materials in Alfonso's messianic argument are derived from earlier polemical literature, then there is also no way to prove that Alfonso was a *converso*, or New Christian, as has been presumed since the seventeenth century. Benzion Netanyahu's study on Alfonso de Espina concludes that one cannot determine whether he was a converted Jew based on the evidence from the *Fortalitium Fidei*.<sup>60</sup> Netanyahu's research shows that Alfonso did not know Hebrew and Aramaic, and he claims this proves that Alfonso was not Jewish. It is debatable whether Alfonso's ignorance of these languages proves anything about his background. It is possible that he might have been a Jew before his conversion to Christianity but simply lacked sufficient training in Hebrew and Aramaic, or that his parents were *conversos*. Another factor, which should not be overlooked, is that Alfonso addressed his preaching and writing to a Christian audience, which would presumably neither know these languages nor be familiar with texts not shared by adherents of both faiths; there would have been no incentive to his using Semitic texts in his arguments. The question, ultimately, must remain main unanswered until further evidence of Alfonso's family and religious background is discovered and analyzed.

While Alfonso de Espina is known for his authorship of the *Fortalitium Fidei*, a text which holds an important place in the history of Christian anti-Jewish literature, he also holds an important place as a preacher within the mendicant movement. This movement itself clashed with the Jewish community, especially during the century in which he lived. As a consequence, in preaching and writing on subjects that concern Jews and Judaism, especially the messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth, Alfonso followed in the footsteps of Bernardino of

<sup>59</sup> See note 15 above.

<sup>60</sup> On Benzion Netanyahu's treatment of the Alfonso's Jewishness, see his "Alonso de Espina."

Siena and other preaching friars of the fifteenth century who were models and sources of inspiration for his own anti-Jewish preaching and writing. His work must be then evaluated not only from the perspective of medieval polemical literature, but also from the viewpoint of the preaching and writing which took place in the mendicant movement of the fifteenth century.

## APPENDIX

### SOURCES FOR THE MESSIANIC ARGUMENT IN THE FORTALITIUM FIDEI

#### Book I, Third Consideration, Sixth Article, Fourth Point<sup>1</sup>

1. Gerónimo de Santa Fé, *Contra Judaeos* (Acta of the Tortosa Disputation); Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi*; Nicholas de Lyra, *Postillae* on Genesis 49:10 and *Libellus contra Judaeos*; Josephus, *Book of Antiquities*; Pilate, *Epistola ad Tyberium*; *Pugio Fidei* (traces)\*
2. Aristotle, ii *Priorum* (Prior Analytics), ii *Ethicorum*; Jerome; Bernardus; Isidore de Seville, *Etymologies*; Bede; *Pugio Fidei*\*
3. Isidore, *Etymologies*; *Acta of Tortosa Disputation*\*; Gerónimo de Santa Fé, *Contra Judaeos*\*; Thomas Aquinas, S.T., I. II; Augustine, *Enchiridion*, *Ad Pollentium*, *De Spiritu et litera*, *Civitas Dei*, *Liber Epistolarum*, *De Utilitate Credendi*, *Contra Epistolam Fundamenti*, *Sermone de Adventu*; Gregory, *Moralia*; Aristotle, *Primo Phisicorum*, ii *Ethicorum*; v *Ethicorum*; Horace; John Duns Scotus, *Sententiae*; Richard of St. Victor, *De Trinitate*; Discussion of St. Silvester with the Jews at Rome; Avicenna, vii *Metaphysicae*
4. *Pugio Fidei*\*
5. Aristotle ("secundum philosophum"); Thomas Aquinas; Bernardus
6. Gerónimo de Santa Fé, *Contra Judaeos*\*; *Pugio Fidei*\*
7. No known source
8. No known source
9. No known source
10. Nicholas de Lyra, *Postillae* on Hosea 6:1\*; Gerónimo de Santa Fé, *Contra Judaeos*\*
11. Alchorano; Avicenna, *Primo Ethicorum*; Augustine
12. Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi*; Nicholas de Lyra; *Glossa Ordinaria*

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<sup>1</sup> Names or texts with an asterisk indicate sources that have been discovered by Benzion Netanyahu, Frank Talmage and Mildred Evelyn Vieira, A. Lukyn Williams, and/or myself. Names or texts without an asterisk indicate that Alfonso has, in some manner at least, credited his source.



## Book III, Consideration 4

6. Nicholas de Lyra, *Contra Judaeos\**; Isidore de Seville, *Commentary on the Pentateuch\**
7. Nicholas de Lyra, *Contra Judaeos\**; *Pugio Fidei\**
8. Nicholas de Lyra, *Contra Judaeos\**
9. Alan of Lille, *De Fide Catholica*
10. Nicholas de Lyra, *Contra Judaeos\**; Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi*; Josephus, *Liber de Judaico Bello\**
11. Nicholas de Lyra, *Postilla on Isaiah 11:6\**; Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi*; Alan of Lille, *De Fide Catholica\**; *Pugio Fidei\**
12. Paulus, episcopus Burgensis, *Dyalogus (Scrutinium Scripturarum)*
13. Paulus, episcopus Burgensis, *Dyalogus (Scrutinium Scripturarum)*
14. Paulus, *Dyalogus (Scrutinium Scripturarum)\**; *Acta of Tortosa Disputation\**; Alchoranus
15. Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi*; *Pugio Fidei\**
16. Nicholas de Lyra, *Contra Judaeos\**
17. Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi\**; Nicholas de Lyra\*, *Contra Judaeos*
18. Magister Paulus, *Dyalogus (Scrutinium Scripturarum )*
19. Magister Paulus, *Dyalogus (Scrutinium Scripturarum )*
20. Nicholas de Lyra
21. Magister Alfonsus Conversus (Abner of Burgos), *Liber Bellorum*; Josephus; Nicholas de Lyra, *Postillae on Lamentations 4:21*
22. Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi*; Bernardo Oliver, *Contra Caecitatem Judeorum*; Josephus

## Book III, Consideration 5

1. Nicholas de Lyra, *Contra Judaeos*
2. *Pugio Fidei\**
3. Nicholas de Lyra, *Postillae on Isaiah 7:14 and 7:16*; Gerónimo de Santa Fé, *Contra Judaeos\**; Petrus Alphonsi, *Dialogi\**; Augustine, “*Sermone Annunciationis Beate Virginis*”; Jerome; Josephus; Bonaventure, *Sententiae*; Alchoranus; Al-Bukhari; Jerome, *Commentariorum in Matheum*
4. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Matheum*; Nicholas de Lyra, *Postillae On Luke*; John Damascene; Josephus
5. Nicholas de Lyra, *Contra Judaeos*, *Postillae on Exodus 29*; *Pugio Fidei\**; Aristotle, *ii Phisicorum*

## RELIGIOUS CHANGE, REGIONALISM, AND ROYAL POWER IN THE SPAIN OF FERNANDO AND ISABEL

Mark D. Meyerson

The recent commemoration of the Columbian Quincentenary has prompted a flurry of historical scholarship on Christopher Columbus and the great transformations set in motion by his voyages. Historians have devoted scarcely less attention to those signal events that marked the final breakdown of Christian-Muslim-Jewish *convivencia* in the Iberian peninsula, namely, the foundation of the Spanish Inquisition (1478–1483), the conquest of the sultanate of Granada (1492), the expulsion of the Jews (1492), and the conversion of the Muslims of Granada and Castile (1500–1502).<sup>1</sup> As the sponsors of Columbus and as the architects of the policy toward Spain's ethno-religious minorities, Isabel I of Castile and Fernando II of Aragon, the Catholic Monarchs, have emerged as central figures in these scholarly discussions. This essay will focus on the Catholic Monarchs and the measures they took with regard to the ethno-religious minorities, measures which, in the aggregate, may be labeled a 'minority policy.' Such a focus is especially suitable for a collection in honor of Fr. Burns, whose work has done so much to deepen understanding of the complexities of *convivencia* in an earlier and rather more hopeful era.

The historical interpretation of Fernando and Isabel's policy toward their Jewish, Muslim, and Converso subjects is complicated considerably by the fact that the Catholic Monarchs formulated and executed this policy in a 'Spain' newly united, dynastically at least,

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<sup>1</sup> Some examples are Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonisation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229–1492* (London, 1987); William D. Phillips, Jr. and Carla Rahn Phillips, *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus* (Cambridge, 1991); Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz, eds., *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991); and Alisa Meyuhas Ginio, ed., *Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Mediterranean World After 1492* (London, 1992). One of the more interesting efforts to make a coherent interpretation of events on both sides of the Atlantic is Bernard Vincent, 1492: "El año admirable," trans. A. Gil Ambrona (Barcelona, 1992). I disagree, however, with Dr. Vincent's argument that Fernando and Isabel were pursuing a "política de exclusión" (43–45).

by their marriage, in a 'Spain' which they managed to pacify and to govern more effectively than their predecessors. Taking into account that usually Fernando and Isabel were making more efficient use of established institutions rather than creating new ones, that they compromised with, rather than crushed, the nobility, and that they largely respected the distinct institutions and *fueros* of the Crown of Aragon, there is still little doubt that they increased monarchical power and that they wielded that power in a manner which some have described as authoritarian.<sup>2</sup> The critical question, then, is what was the relationship between their radically transformative minority policy and their construction of a stronger monarchical state?

For many historians, past and present, the answer is clear: the establishment of the Inquisition, the expulsion of the Jews, and the conquest and forced conversion of the Muslims were part and parcel of a coherent policy that sought to establish a unity of faith within Spain as a means of enhancing royal power. Religious homogeneity would counterbalance the institutional and cultural heterogeneity of Castile and the Crown of Aragon.<sup>3</sup> When historians take this view to its extreme, the Spanish state takes on a life and personality of its own: now more 'modern,' now more 'European,' it could no longer brook the existence of two foreign religions on its soil.<sup>4</sup> Both medieval and early modern historians espouse this view. Among the former, it seems to originate in pessimistic assumptions about the very nature of the emerging modern state, which, they argue, was incompatible with the religious pluralism more characteristic of the medieval period.<sup>5</sup> Among the latter, it arises from a tendency to interpret the

<sup>2</sup> There is a vast bibliography on the Catholic Monarchs and their government of Castile and the Crown of Aragon. Two of the more useful general treatments are J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1976-78), 2:484-532; and Joseph Pérez, *Isabel y Fernando: Los Reyes Católicos*, trans. F. Santos Fontenla (Madrid, 1988), 67-170. Interested readers may consult the bibliographies cited therein.

<sup>3</sup> Some examples of this widely held interpretation are Tarsicio de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica: Estudio crítico de su vida y su reinado* (Madrid, 1964), 632; Luis Suárez Fernández, *Judíos españoles en la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1980), 260-62; and Haim Beinart, "The Converso Community in 15th Century Spain," in *The Sephardi Heritage*, ed. R.D. Barnett (London, 1971), 442.

<sup>4</sup> One of the more extreme examples is Pérez, *Isabel y Fernando*, 356-57; also, see his comments in Joseph Pérez et al., *Historia de España*, vol. V: *La frustración de un imperio (1469-1714)*, ed. M. Tuñón de Lara (Barcelona, 1982), 155-58.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The Mudejars of Castile and Portugal in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100-1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), 56; and Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton, 1993), 240-42.

reign of Fernando and Isabel from the perspective of the post-Lutheran Europe of Charles V and Philip II, as if the Catholic Monarchs formulated policy with the dictum *cuius regio eius religio* in mind.<sup>6</sup>

Linked to this basic position that reason of state informed the Catholic Monarchs' minority policy are a number of other common historical approaches and arguments. First, because of the greater dynamism of Castile in the later fifteenth century, and because Fernando utilized Castilian resources to advance traditional Catalan-Aragonese aims in the Mediterranean, historians usually, and not surprisingly, focus their analyses of the Monarchs' minority policy on Castile, as if Castile were all of Spain, and as if the pressures exerted on the Monarchs by a particular Castilian social group might have dictated to Fernando the measures he would take in his own realms.<sup>7</sup> Closely related is the tendency to think in terms of one minority problem, or of one Jewish and one Muslim problem.<sup>8</sup> While such an approach has a certain validity—for instance, regarding the Monarchs' response to the dilemma of judaizing Conversos—it nonetheless obscures real and important regional differences in the configuration and interaction of religious and social groups. In each region Inquisition, conversion, and expulsion had a distinct meaning and were sought and greeted with a variant degree of enthusiasm. Finally, because the Inquisition was the one institution that extended its tentacles from Castile into the territories of the Crown of Aragon, historians sometimes see it as a cleverly devised instrument of centralization, an institution avowedly created for religious reasons but

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<sup>6</sup> Henri Lapeyre, *Les monarchies européennes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: les relations internationales* (Paris, 1973), 97–99, 248–49; and Jean-Pierre DeDieu, “La défense de l’orthodoxie,” in *Le premier âge de l’État en Espagne, 1450–1700*, ed. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris, 1989), 219. For a rather different perspective on the relationship between religious conflict and politics in the early modern period, see John Bossy, “Unrethinking the Sixteenth-Century Wars of Religion,” in *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion*, ed. Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame, 1991), 267–85. Bossy takes a number of historians to task for arguing that “what appeared to be confessional conflicts . . . were actually political ones: something to do with the rise of the modern state” (268–69).

<sup>7</sup> For example, Roger Highfield, “Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Same Society: The Fall of *Convivencia* in Medieval Spain,” *Studies in Church History*, 15 (1978), 121–46; despite the title, Highfield’s discussion treats only Castile. Stephen H. Haliczer, “The Castilian Urban Patriciate and the Jewish Expulsions of 1480–92,” *The American Historical Review*, 78 (1973), 35–58, and Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition* (London, 1965), 7, both see the pressure of particular Castilian social groups behind the measures of Fernando and Isabel—the Castilian nobility in the case of Kamen.

<sup>8</sup> The works cited in notes 3–7 all manifest this tendency to a greater or lesser extent.

utilized to achieve political goals—in other words, an institution worthy of Machiavelli's Fernando.<sup>9</sup>

The aim of this essay is to suggest some different approaches to the dramatic religious changes initiated during the reign of Fernando and Isabel. The thesis to be argued here is that reason of faith informed the policy of the Catholic Monarchs toward the ethno-religious minorities. Such a thesis, however, does not imply that the Monarchs were oblivious to political exigencies, or that religion and politics constituted mutually exclusive spheres of royal activity. On the contrary, not only does it acknowledge that Fernando and Isabel were very much cognizant of political realities, it also sees them as using their considerable political acumen and power to achieve religious goals. At the same time, a Castile-centered interpretation will be avoided in favor of one that emphasizes the importance of regional particularities in the development and execution of Fernando and Isabel's minority policy. Historians of medieval and early modern Spain have long understood that one can hardly speak of one 'Spain' in institutional and cultural terms, but they have only dimly recognized, if at all, that there was not one 'Spanish' phenomenon of *convivencia*.

Most discussions of the Catholic Monarchs' minority policy have focused primarily on the Jews and Conversos; hence, it may be illuminating to broach the question with an emphasis on the Muslims. The conquest of the sultanate of Granada was central to the political success of, and to the legend of, Fernando and Isabel. By playing to the hilt the traditional role of *rey-caudillo* and by effectively promoting the crusade against Islam, the Monarchs gained the support of the

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<sup>9</sup> Pérez et al., *Frustración de un imperio*, 160; Pérez, *Isabel y Fernando*, 342–43; DeDieu, "Défense de l'orthodoxie," 229–34, although DeDieu does qualify his argument by noting that the Inquisition ultimately did not succeed in surmounting the opposition of the "peripheral regions" to the "central State"; Haim Beinart, *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, trans. Y. Guiladi (Jerusalem, 1981), 25–26; Ferran Soldevila, *Historia de España*, vol. 2 (Barcelona, 1953), 430–34; E. Fort i Cogul, *Catalunya i la Inquisició* (Barcelona, 1973), 132–33; Ricardo García Cárcel, *Orígenes de la Inquisición española: El tribunal de Valencia, 1478–1530* (Barcelona, 1976), 38–39; and J. Angel Sesma Muñoz, *El establecimiento de la Inquisición en Aragón (1484–1486): Documentos para su estudio* (Zaragoza, 1987), 20, who sees the spring of 1484 as the critical moment when Fernando's objective in the establishment of the Inquisition changed from a "proyecto primitivo de matiz religioso" to "un planteamiento político de mayor alcance." In contrast, William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge, 1990), 27, deemphasizes Fernando's political motives and does not see the various regional Inquisitions becoming "integral parts of Castilian government throughout the Crown of Aragon" until the reign of Charles V.

Castilian nobility and people, and consolidated their authority.<sup>10</sup> Yet one must remember that it was a war fought largely with Castilian manpower and money. The peoples of the Crown of Aragon did not live along the frontier with Granada and thus did not necessarily share with Castilians the ambition for the sultanate's conquest; their limited contributions to the war effort reflect this.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, Fernando and Isabel did not regard the conquest of Granada as the first step of a plan to liquidate Islam in Spain. An examination of the documents relative to the events that resulted in the conversion of the Muslims of Granada and Castile between 1499 and 1502 does not uncover a preconceived plan on the Monarchs' part. Rather it reveals a series of tragic blunders and attempts to repair the damage with measures consistent with their previous experience: Isabel, impatient with the minimal success of Archbishop Talavera's missionary efforts in her new kingdom of Granada, sent Cardinal Cisneros there in 1499 with the hope of obtaining better results; Cisneros, having the conversion of all Muslims in mind from the start, managed, with his violent methods, to spark a series of Muslim revolts throughout the former sultanate—all this to the expressed dismay of Fernando but perhaps to the satisfaction of Isabel—and, finally, royal armies crushed the revolts, offering baptism as condition of pardon to the subdued rebels. By the summer of 1501 the Monarchs had masses of Muslim New Christians, or Moriscos, on their hands. Naturally, their minds turned toward the problem of judaizing Conversos, which they had tried to solve by creating an Inquisition to eradicate them and by expelling the Jews who had influenced them. In order to prevent the Muslims remaining in Isabel's realms from contaminating the new converts with Islamic heresies, the Monarchs completed the Christianization of Granada and cordoned it off in July 1501, and then in February 1502 offered the Mudejars of Isabel's other kingdom of Castile the choice of baptism

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<sup>10</sup> Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 2:370–74; Pérez, *Isabel y Fernando*, 246–247; José Cepeda Adán, *En torno al concepto del estado en los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid, 1956), 77–84; and Teófilo F. Ruiz, "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages," in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, ed. S. Wilentz (Philadelphia, 1985), 114–33.

<sup>11</sup> Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Castilla y la conquista del Reino de Granada*, 2nd ed. (Granada, 1988), 144, 201–19; Francisco Sevillano Colom, "Las empresas nacionales de los Reyes Católicos y la aportación económica de la ciudad de Valencia," *Hispania*, 57 (1954), 511–623; and J. Ángel Sesma Muñoz, *La Diputación del Reino de Aragón en la época de Fernando II* (Zaragoza, 1977), 319–22.

or expulsion. This last order makes an explicit connection between the dangers to the Catholic faith which Jewish influence on Conversos had presented and the desire to prevent a similar problem from developing out of contacts between Muslims and Moriscos. Now all of Isabel's Muslim subjects would be Christians, and hopefully, in the long term, without unbaptized Muslims to influence them, sincere Christians. Also, by making conditions for Muslim emigration extremely difficult, the Monarchs saw to it that they retained their labor force in Granada.<sup>12</sup>

As for Fernando's huge number of Mudejar subjects in the lands of the Crown of Aragon, their status remained unchanged throughout his reign, because in his realms there was no Morisco problem and because, after all, Aragon was another country. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, Fernando's Mudejar policy was remarkably traditional; in fact, he was so convinced of the continuing viability of Mudejarism that he settled Granadan Muslims in the kingdom of Valencia after 1489. The king did not envisage a general forced conversion of his Muslim subjects, and after 1500, when events transpiring in Granada caused some of his Christian subjects to think otherwise, he reaffirmed the Crown's traditional commitment to the Mudejars' religious freedom. This was not simply a matter of Fernando yielding to the nobles on whose lands most Mudejars lived; rather, forced conversion and its attendant problems troubled him greatly, and he saw no need to distress subjects who contributed so markedly to the economic well-being of his kingdoms.<sup>13</sup>

This brief consideration of Muslim affairs demonstrates the weakness of the position that the Catholic Monarchs systematically attempted to create religious homogeneity in order to foster national unity and to strengthen their own power. Even if one accepted that Isabel guided the activities of Cisneros in Granada—and it is not at

<sup>12</sup> Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I* (Valladolid, 1969) remains the fundamental study of these events and is especially valuable for its appendix of documents. See also L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago, 1990), 324–39; and Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991), 54–58, which is the only treatment that analyzes the Monarchs' handling of the Muslims of Granada and Castile in light of their previous experience with Jews and Conversos.

<sup>13</sup> Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia*, 10–60, 72–74, 90–98; and José Hinojosa Montalvo, "Mudéjares granadinos en el reino de Valencia a fines del siglo XV (1484–1492)," in *Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza, La Sociedad Medieval Andaluza: Grupos No Privilegiados* (Jaén, 1984), 121–30.

all clear that she did—it is difficult to explain away the more than 150,000 royally-protected Mudejars in the Crown of Aragon.<sup>14</sup> To the degree that uniformity of faith was anywhere a goal, it was only in Castile. The only thread of consistency uniting the various and seemingly contradictory components of the Monarchs' minority policy was their concern with the problem of New Christians, whether of Jewish or Muslim origin. Thus they founded an Inquisition and imposed it on both Castile and Aragon because judaizing Conversos were a problem in both realms; they expelled all Jews because of Jewish-Converso contact throughout Spain; they converted all the Muslims of Granada and Castile only after Cisneros had created a Morisco problem in Isabel's Granada; and they, or rather Fernando, did not alter the Mudejars' status in Aragon, for it was not plagued by a Morisco problem. This conclusion substantiates the position of historians of the Jewish expulsion, like Maurice Kriegel, who have argued, in the face of a variety of other theses, that Fernando and Isabel expelled the Jews precisely for the reason stated in the expulsion edict: to end Jewish contamination of the Conversos' Catholic faith.<sup>15</sup>

If reason of faith was indeed central to the minority policy of Fernando and Isabel, then it is more appropriate and more useful to view this policy in the context of their concern to reform Catholic church and society than to consider it in the context of state-building.<sup>16</sup> It is important to remember that the problem of Conversos and Moriscos was, in its deepest sense, a Christian one. It would be difficult to overestimate the threat that judaizing Conversos or islamizing Moriscos were perceived to present to the health of the Christian body. If some baptized Christians were really practicing Jews or Muslims, then on what criteria was Christian identity to be based, and what could the church expect from its members in terms of belief, ritual and lifestyle?<sup>17</sup> Through a sustained effort to reform

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<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of Mudejar demography, see Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia*, 14, 277 n. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Maurice Kriegel, "La prise d'une décision: l'expulsion des juifs d'Espagne," *Revue Historique*, 260 (1978), 49–90.

<sup>16</sup> My approach here owes much to Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, and his insightful organization of the chapter on "The Crown and Religion," 2:394–483, which treats both ecclesiastical reform and the policy toward the ethno-religious minorities.

<sup>17</sup> During the fifteenth century there was serious and vigorous debate on these issues in relation to the Conversos. See Haim Beinart, "Converso Community," and Albert A. Sicoff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre: Controversias entre los siglos XV y*



the secular and regular clergy, the spiritual guides of the laity, through legislation intended to correct the laity's moral laxity, and through an Inquisition created to punish or reconcile erring Conversos, Fernando and Isabel sought to answer these questions and to regenerate spiritually Spanish society according to guidelines set by themselves and their clerical advisers. Indeed, some of the same concerns seem to have motivated the Monarchs' enactments against Christian immorality and those regarding the religious minorities. For instance, while Fernando legislated against blasphemy, gambling, pimping, and sorcery in Valencia and Aragon, he also expressed dismay about, and sometimes acted against, the immoderate and immoral mingling of his Muslim and Christian subjects in these kingdoms.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the Monarchs' program of ecclesiastical reform was, in certain respects, strikingly similar to their execution of facets of their minority policy. Just as they sought to control and to staff their new Inquisition, they also desired to appoint the bishops and the religious who would undertake the reform of the Spanish church. Fernando and Isabel were successful in both cases, which meant an increase in royal power at the expense of Rome and, more importantly, their direction of a reform process which they believed they could prosecute more effectively than the papacy.<sup>19</sup> Since clerical corruption, like Converso judaizing, was rife in both Castile and Aragon, Crown-appointed reformers, like the Inquisitors, were at work in both realms. And, as in their and their Inquisitors' ferreting out of heretics, the Monarchs were harsh and unrelenting in their imposition of reform on religious houses, displaying the same willingness to tread upon

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XVII, trans. M. Armiño (Madrid, 1985), 43–85. With regard to the Moriscos, these issues, of course, had scarcely begun to be debated during the reign of Fernando and Isabel. Nevertheless, as I have argued above, these issues were very much on the minds of the Monarchs as they dealt with the results of Cisneros's handiwork in Granada. Fernando, in particular, was quite anxious about the socioreligious problems that could follow in the wake of forced conversions; see Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia*, 51–54.

<sup>18</sup> For the Valencian legislation, *Aureum opus regaliū privilegiorū civitatis et regni Valentie* (Valencia, 1515), folios 216r.–v., 230r.–232r.; for the Aragonese legislation, Azcona, *Isabel*, 571; and for Fernando's anxiety over immoderate Muslim-Christian contact, Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia*, 40–50. Azcona, *Isabel*, 571–72, although not finding similar decrees enunciated by Isabel for Castilian cities, conjectures that she probably would have done the same as her husband. Marvin Lunenfeld, *Keepers of the City: The Corregidores of Isabella I of Castile (1474–1504)* (Cambridge, 1987), 6, 118–20, shows that policing morality, lay and clerical, was one of the tasks of Isabel's *corregidores*.

<sup>19</sup> Azcona, *Isabel*, 425–98; and Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 2:394–409.

regional customs and liberties if reason of faith demanded it.<sup>20</sup> Small surprise that it was Cisneros who emerged after 1492 as the Monarchs' key agent of reform and that he was no less zealous in transferring Franciscan houses from the Conventuals to the Observants than he was in forcing baptism on Granada's Muslims.<sup>21</sup> In terms of method, personnel, and geographic scope, Fernando and Isabel's minority policy was more in keeping with their program of ecclesiastical reform than it was with their action in the sphere of purely secular politics, where they were more prone to compromise and to respect regional particularities.<sup>22</sup>

If the dramatic measures of Inquisition, conversion, and expulsion were the Catholic Monarchs' solution to the specific problem of heretical, or potentially heretical, New Christians, then it is difficult to maintain that these measures were the inevitable end result of an inexorable historical process of Spanish modernization, or that the continuing existence of Muslims and Jews on Spanish soil was necessarily incompatible with the social and political structures developing in Castile and Aragon. In their handling of Muslims, Jews, and Conversos, Fernando and Isabel were not simply acceding to popular Old Christian demand; there was not mass agitation for an end to Christian-Muslim-Jewish *convivencia*. This is not to say that there was not anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim feeling, which occasionally manifested itself in acts of aggression, but such resentment and the potential for ethno-religious violence always were an element of *convivencia*, even in the so-called 'golden ages.'<sup>23</sup> The question is whether

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<sup>20</sup> Azcona, *Isabel*, 557–622, and esp. 558, where he emphasizes that the ecclesiastical policy of Fernando and Isabel was “monolítica; su ejecución fue planificada . . . tan por encima de cualquier criterio de fronteras [i.e., between Castile and the Crown of Aragon].” See also José García Oro, *Cisneros y la reforma del clero español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid, 1971). Both authors note that Aragonese and Catalan monasteries invoked regional *fueros* when resisting reforms promoted by the Monarchs and their Castilian clerical advisers.

<sup>21</sup> García Oro, *Cisneros y la reforma*; and Azcona, *Isabel*, 594–622. It is worth noting that Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 2:408, and Azcona, *Isabel*, 615, both see Fernando's approach to reform in his own realms as somewhat less peremptory and harsh than that taken by Isabel and Cisneros in Castile. This is an interesting parallel to the difference between Fernando's treatment of the Muslims of the Crown of Aragon and Isabel's and Cisneros's handling of the Muslims of Granada and Castile.

<sup>22</sup> Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 2:513–28; J. Vicens Vives, *Política del Rey Católico en Cataluña* (Barcelona, 1940); Fernando Solano Costa, “Estudios sobre la historia de Aragón durante la Edad Moderna,” *Cuadernos de Historia*, 1 (1967), 129–58; and Ernest Belenguier Cebrià, *València en la crisi del segle XV* (Barcelona, 1976).

<sup>23</sup> The classic statement and discussion of *convivencia* is that of Américo Castro,

tensions and hostility had reached such a level as to make Christian-Muslim-Jewish coexistence unworkable. My own research on the Muslims of the kingdom of Valencia suggests not, and reveals a Mudejar population taking advantage of the opportunities created by favorable demographic and economic conditions, engaging in a mutually beneficial economic interchange with Christian farmers, artisans, and merchants, and socializing with Christians in their homes and in taverns and gambling dens. Such quotidian economic and social interaction was sufficient to counterbalance any tensions aroused by Christian fears of a Mudejar fifth column, even during a reign apparently pervaded by an atmosphere of holy war.<sup>24</sup>

There is reason to be less optimistic about the Jews' situation, precisely because the existence of the Conversos rendered it more complex and precarious. Of course, there is considerable evidence that since the traumas of the years 1391–1415 the now often smaller and more dispersed Jewish communities had regained some of their former vitality and their not unimportant role in local industry and commerce, tax-farming and small-scale money-lending. As in earlier centuries, relations with local Christians ranged from the amicable to the acrimonious. In and of itself, late-fifteenth century Jewry was by no means "moribund," as some would have it.<sup>25</sup> The Converso presence, however, complicated Jewish life and modified the Crown's

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*España en su historia: Cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires, 1948). Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia*, 1–4, argues that the "ever-present potentiality for religious and ethnic violence" must be taken into account in any analysis of *convivencia*. The traditional view that a "golden age" of coexistence inexorably gave way to an era of "decline and destruction" still has its adherents; see, for instance, Jane S. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York, 1992).

<sup>24</sup> Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia*, passim. See also Robert I. Burns, "Muslims in the Thirteenth-Century Realms of Aragon: Interaction and Reaction," in *Muslims under Latin Rule*, 95–96, a perceptive discussion of Meyerson's conclusions in the context of a critique of the "thesis of a continual decline" in the Mudejars' situation.

<sup>25</sup> Eleazar Gutwirth, "Towards Expulsion: 1391–1492," in *Spain and the Jews: The Sephardic Experience 1492 and After*, ed. E. Kedourie (London, 1992), 51–73, offers a particularly thoughtful discussion of fifteenth-century Hispano-Jewish history and states "paradoxical as it may seem, the period which begins with pogroms and ends with expulsions need not be seen as one of unmitigated decline" (52). There are a number of local studies that argue against painting too gloomy a picture, such as P. León Tello, *Los Judíos de Avila* (Ávila, 1963); and Mark D. Meyerson, "The Jewish Community in Murviedro (1391–1492)," in *The Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492*, ed. M. Lazar and S. Haliczzer (forthcoming). For more general treatments, see Suárez Fernández, *Judíos españoles*, 233–47; and Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols., trans. L. Schoffman (Philadelphia, 1961), 2:244–70. De Dieu, "Défense de l'orthodoxie," 219, uses the term "moribund."

view of the Jews. On the one hand, the existence of economically and politically successful Conversos presented a threat to Jewish communities by providing wavering Jews with an example of the benefits which baptism might provide; also, some Conversos agitated against the Jews as a means of validating their own membership in Catholic church and society. On the other hand, Jews and Conversos were sometimes drawn together by bonds of ethnic and religious solidarity, as Conversos turned to Jews for assistance in maintaining a Jewish lifestyle.<sup>26</sup> It was this more positive and poignant side of Converso-Jewish relations that moved the Cortes of Toledo (1480), inspired by Fernando and Isabel, to enact laws requiring Jews to inhabit separate quarters, and led the Monarchs to expel the Jews from parts of Andalusia after 1483. The enforcement of this legislation served to increase anti-Jewish feeling, for the Christian populace could not easily distinguish between measures intended to curtail Jewish-Converso communication and what they perceived as a Crown-sponsored assault on the Jews.<sup>27</sup> Still, as Kriegel argues, the application of the Toledo legislation does not mean that a "mécanisme fatal" had been set in motion.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, this legislation had no analogue in the Crown of Aragon, although there were some unexecuted royal orders regarding the expulsion of Jews from parts of Aragon in 1486.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the Monarchs' efforts to minimize Converso-Jewish contact were more vigorous in Castile because Castile was the realm where they focused most of their energies, and where the Converso problem had been most associated with social and political upheaval.

A consideration of the Converso problem and of the Catholic Monarchs' attempts to resolve it by means of an Inquisition raises some of the most acute and interesting questions regarding regional differentiation and the exercise of royal power. It is well known that Fernando imposed the Castilian-run Inquisition on his own kingdoms

<sup>26</sup> The question of the religious and social position of the Conversos is exceedingly complex and has been the focus of considerable scholarly debate. See Beinart, "Converso Community," and idem, *Conversos on Trial*, 1-87, 203-99; and Benzion Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain From the Late XIVth to the Early XVIth Century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1973) for a contrasting interpretation.

<sup>27</sup> Haim Beinart, "The Living Quarters of the Jews of Spain during the 15th Century and the Order of Separation" [Hebrew], *Zion*, 51 (1986), 61-85; and idem, "La Inquisición Española y la expulsión de los judíos de Andalucía," in *Jews and Conversos: Studies in Society and the Inquisition*, ed. Y. Kaplan (Jerusalem, 1985), 103-23.

<sup>28</sup> Kriegel, "Expulsion," 62.

<sup>29</sup> Baer, *History*, 2:381.

against the wishes of local populations, who argued that the intrusion of this institution would violate their *fueros* and disrupt their economies.<sup>30</sup> Historians have largely overlooked, however, what seems to be implied in the expressed constitutional and economic concerns of the Aragonese and Catalans (and Valencians to a lesser extent), namely, an unspoken acceptance of the Conversos in their midst and a feeling that an institution like the new 'Spanish' Inquisition was not particularly necessary for religious or other reasons. True, the papal inquisition had long had jurisdiction in the territories of the Crown of Aragon, and Fernando's subjects maintained that it was sufficient. Yet in Aragon and Catalonia the papal inquisitors had scarcely taken any action against judaizing Conversos. Thus, while the king desired to see a more active and efficient inquisition at work in his own realms, his subjects did not mind the papal inquisitors' negligence. Only in Valencia, between 1460 and 1467, had papal inquisitors proceeded rigorously against judaizing Conversos, apparently because some of the Conversos there, gripped by a messianic fervor, were attempting to leave the city for the East.<sup>31</sup>

With respect to the reception of the Conversos by Old Christian society, there was a marked difference between the Crown of Aragon and Castile. Conversos in both realms gained considerable wealth and achieved positions and influence in royal, municipal, and ecclesiastical government; also, both realms had their judaizing Conversos, whose Judaism was not always so secret. Yet only Castile witnessed intense Old Christian resentment towards and, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, extensive violence against Conversos; and, again, it was Castile where a marked preoccupation with *limpieza de sangre* first received expression in discriminatory legislation, and where the new Inquisition had its most vociferous proponents. In the Crown of Aragon, the Converso problem, in terms of social conflict and mob

<sup>30</sup> Baer, *History*, 2:358–389; Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 3–28; García Cárcel, *Tribunal de Valencia*, 37–67; Sesma Muñoz, *Inquisición en Aragón*, 7–24; and Jaume Vicens Vives, *Ferran II i la ciutat de Barcelona*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1936), 1:365–424.

<sup>31</sup> Manuel Sánchez Moya and Jasone Monasterio Aspiri, "Los judaizantes turolenses en el siglo XV," *Sefarad*, 32 (1972), 105, note that at the beginning of the reign of Fernando the papal inquisition in Aragon was "mortecina e ineficaz," despite the extensive judaizing. Vicens, *Ferran II*, 1:367, 373–375, and Fort i Cogul, *Catalunya*, 113–19, 134–39, both emphasize the inactivity of the papal inquisitors in Catalonia and the argument of the *Consellers* of Barcelona that Catalonia did not need a new Inquisition because there were not any judaizers there. For the inquisitorial activity in Valencia in the 1460s, see Baer, *History*, 2:292–95.

violence, was not much of a problem at all. How, then, does one explain such a contrast?

At this point, given the state of research, only some tentative explanations can be offered. Because of the Jews' more significant and visible role in Castilian royal government during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Castilian critics of the monarchy tended to use anti-Jewish and, later, anti-Converso themes in their political propaganda. The anti-Jewish themes employed by Enrique de Trastámara in his propaganda against Pedro the Cruel appeared in slightly different form in the attacks on Alvaro de Luna, whom his opponents labeled as a "protector of heretics and judaizers."<sup>32</sup> It may be that the persistence of such propaganda served to place Castilian Conversos more in the uncomfortable glare of the public eye, thereby exacerbating Old Christian hostility against them. Still, this explanation is not wholly satisfactory; nor would it be wise to push the argument that the peoples of the Crown of Aragon were more philo-Semitic than their Castilian counterparts.<sup>33</sup>

In explaining the contrast between Castile and the Crown of Aragon it is more useful to consider from a comparative perspective the urban societies in which the Conversos resided and into which they were to some degree assimilating—that is, the sociopolitical structure of these societies and the social values and ideals according to which they defined status. In Castile, or, more specifically, New Castile and Andalusia, where the Conversos faced the most violent opposition, the powerful rural nobility and their lesser noble allies dominated urban life and government. Moreover, social status and power were determined in accordance with a noble scale of values and the social ideals of the nobility permeated urban society at all levels. Hence, Castilian urban folk, *caballeros* and *pecheros*, placed great emphasis on lineage and *hidalguía*, on the military function of the noble, and on the ownership of land. Although this did not preclude some commercial activity on the part of the nobility, or the attainment of *caballero* status by non-nobles on the basis of wealth, the social ideals

<sup>32</sup> Julio Valdeón Barúque, *Los judíos de Castilla y la revolución Trastámara* (Valladolid, 1968); and Eloy Benito Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV: vida política* (Madrid, 1961), 41–42.

<sup>33</sup> Vicens, *Ferran II*, 1:393, writes of the religious tolerance of the *Consellers* of Barcelona; and Fort i Cogul, *Catalunya*, 149, concurs, noting "un ample sentit de tolerància religiosa característica dels catalans." These frankly nationalistic statements, although somewhat extreme and inaccurate, do nonetheless suggest a distinct social reality in Catalonia (and perhaps elsewhere in the Crown of Aragon).

and myths of the nobility were still powerful and persuasive. Clearly, Conversos who used their financial acumen and commercial clout in order to gain office and influence in urban government represented a glaring affront to these ideals, for they had neither the lineage nor the military background of *hidalgos* and *caballeros*. Yet it would be inaccurate to reduce anti-Converso violence in Castile to being merely the result of a clash of class interests between the nobility and an upstart Converso bourgeoisie. The state of affairs was more complex. Some Conversos of means were allied with powerful nobles while others had married into noble families. It was precisely the Converso alliances with specific noble factions that earned them the enmity of rival noble factions. Needless to say, the Conversos' noble enemies resented them because of their origins and the foundation of their status on capital alone, but perhaps more important was the ability of these nobles to mobilize the Old Christian masses against the Conversos with harangues that emphasized the Conversos' Jewish blood, their suspect religiosity, and their manipulation of money to acquire power illegitimately and to the detriment of Old Christians. The judaizing of some Conversos served to stoke the flames of animosity and to legitimize the hostility of the Conversos' Old Christian enemies, regardless of social class. In the escalating political violence that plagued Castilian cities, the Conversos, by virtue of their contemptible origins, alleged heretical tendencies, and political alliances, became the convenient target of popular outrage and noble machinations.<sup>34</sup>

In the cities of the Crown of Aragon the sources of Converso power and influence were no different, their commitment to the Catholic faith no greater. But Catalan-Aragonese urban society more easily accommodated families that climbed rapidly on the social and political ladder through commercial and financial enterprise. In the life and government of these cities the rural nobility exerted only minimal influence. Although the oligarchies of honored citizens lived as *rentier* aristocrats and invested in real-estate, one could hardly regard them as a military aristocracy placing the same emphasis on *hidalguía* and *caballería* as the Castilian nobility. In this very different urban world the Conversos did not challenge prevailing social values and therefore did not draw as much attention to their ethnicity; their means of acquiring power and influence were not an issue because

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<sup>34</sup> Much of value has been written on Castilian urban society and politics, and on

they were not unusual. Certainly the Conversos played a role in the political strife of these cities, but violence was not directed at them because they were Conversos. Old Christian misgivings about the Conversos' religious commitments became serious only after Fernando sent the Inquisition to his kingdoms.<sup>35</sup>

Fernando's imposition of the Castilian-controlled Inquisition on the lands of the Crown of Aragon was not an element of a larger scheme of political centralization, as some have argued;<sup>36</sup> rather, this effort to introduce the new Inquisition ran counter to other elements of his program for these territories. Instead of treating the Inquisition as a

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the role of the Conversos in it. Among the more useful works are: Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Conversos y cargos concejiles en el siglo XV," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 63 (1957), 503-40; Angus MacKay, "Popular Movements and Pogroms in Fifteenth-Century Castile," *Past and Present*, 55 (1972), 33-67; idem, "The Hispanic-Converso Predicament," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 35 (1985), 159-79; M.A. Ladero Quesada, "Judeoconversos andaluces en el siglo XV," in *Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, 27-55; Antonio Cascales Ramos, *La Inquisición en Andalucía: resistencia de los conversos a su implantación* (Seville, 1986), 20-74; Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez, *Sevilla a la Baja Edad Media: la ciudad y sus hombres* (Seville, 1977), 224-48, 285-91, 373-82, 422-23; John Edwards, *Christian Córdoba: the city and its region in the late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1982), 142-87; Benito Ruano, *Toledo*, passim; Beinart, *Conversos on Trial*, 48-87; and Sicroff, *Limpieza de sangre*, 43-124.

<sup>35</sup> The economic, social, and political life of the Conversos in the Crown of Aragon is a subject which thus far has not attracted much scholarly attention, probably because far less controversy surrounded these Conversos and they were not the objects of disruptive political violence. Still, one can get some sense of the Conversos' situation in this distinct society from the following: Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 2:150-53, 412, 432; Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 14, 321; Fort i Cogul, *Catalunya*, 126-27; F. Carreras i Candi, "Evolució històrica dels juheus y juheissants barcelonines," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 3 (1909), 498-522; José María Lacarra, *Aragón en el pasado*, 3rd ed. (Madrid, 1979), 168-72; María Isabel Falcón Pérez, "El Patriciado Urbano de Zaragoza y la actuación reformista de Fernando II en el Gobierno Municipal," in *Aragón en la Edad Media II: estudios de economía y sociedad* (Zaragoza, 1979), 258-59; idem, *Organización municipal de Zaragoza en el siglo XV* (Zaragoza, 1977), 70-72; Antonio Durán Gudiol, *La judería de Huesca* (Zaragoza, 1984), 84-91; Sánchez Moya and Monasterio Aspiri, "Judaizantes turolenses"; Encarnación Marín Padilla, "Relación judeoconversa durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV en Aragón: nacimientos, hadas, circuncisiones," *Sefarad*, 41 (1981), 273-300 [this author has a number of other articles on the Conversos' Jewish practices in subsequent issues of *Sefarad*]; Jacqueline Guiral, "Convers à Valence à la fin du XV siècle," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 11 (1975), 80-98; idem, *Valence, port méditerranéen au XVe siècle (1410-1525)* (Paris, 1986), 352-58; Stephen Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478-1834* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990), 209-23; and Angelina García, *Els Vives: una família de jueus valencians* (Valencia, 1987), 51-82. García, 77-82, discusses the effort of the *jurats* of the city to remove all Conversos from public office in 1477-78; it seems that the Conversos were more of an issue in Valencia than they were in the cities of Catalonia and Aragon proper.

<sup>36</sup> See note 9.



religious institution utilized by Fernando for the political goal of increasing royal power at the expense of local governments, it is essential to recognize that the king already possessed the authority necessary to thrust the Inquisition on his realms, whether they liked it or not, and that the end toward which he resolutely exerted his formidable power was a religious one.<sup>37</sup> Upon consideration of Fernando's efforts to foster the economic recovery of Barcelona and Catalonia—his primary concern in his own realms—it becomes clear that the Inquisition acted as a hindrance to the achievement of this goal by forcing a large number of prosperous Converso merchants to flee Barcelona, thus weakening the local economy in the short term. In his letters to the *Consellers* of Barcelona the king stated that he would ruin the economy before he would suffer heresy in his realms. Also, Fernando hardly needed an Inquisition to establish his authority in Barcelona and Catalonia, for after the debilitating civil war the *Consellers* had greeted his accession to the throne with almost messianic expectations and with a willingness to cooperate with the Crown.<sup>38</sup> In Valencia, the Inquisition made little difference in Fernando's ability to achieve his political goals, inasmuch as he already was able to exact substantial loans from the city's government.<sup>39</sup> The Aragonese continued to be recalcitrant and uncooperative, with or without the Inquisition, and, in any case, had little to offer the king in the way of fiscal revenues.<sup>40</sup> In all three territories, the Inquisition, if anything, disrupted the spirit of cooperation that existed between Fernando and his subjects, causing the latter to leap to the defense of their *fueros* and to view their Castile-based king with greater distrust. In the governance of the Crown of Aragon, the Inquisition did more to create complications for Fernando than to provide him with political solutions; but in the extirpation of heresy, the Inquisition did not disappoint the king.

It is difficult to see, in the final analysis, how the Catholic Monarchs' minority policy served to strengthen royal authority. In expelling the Jews, Fernando and Isabel were depriving themselves of reliable royal servants and taxpayers; this measure and the Inquisition's

<sup>37</sup> Vicens, *Ferran II*, 1:369–70, makes this argument most convincingly.

<sup>38</sup> Vicens, *Ferran II*, 1:92–105, 365–424; idem, *Historia crítica de la vida y reinado de Fernando II de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1962), 346–52, 382–83, 503–16; and Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 2:518–526.

<sup>39</sup> Belenguier Cebrià, *València*; and Sevillano Colom, "Ciudad de Valencia."

<sup>40</sup> Solano Costa, "Aragón"; and Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, 2:517–18.

decimation of Converso communities only damaged local economies. By converting the Muslims of Granada they only made a conquered population more restive. The imposition of the Inquisition on the lands of the Crown of Aragon, far from furthering political and economic goals, in a constitutional sense only opened up new wounds. Most important, of course, is that Fernando and Isabel were not attempting to create religious homogeneity for reason of state; they were only trying to resolve the Converso problem and a Morisco problem in Granada and Castile which Cisneros had managed to create. Furthermore, the Monarchs harbored few illusions about the Christian faith of the new Muslim converts or of the Jews who opted for baptism instead of exile in 1492. Historical arguments to the effect that the subordination of all subjects to one Catholic faith enhanced the authority of the emerging modern state simply bear little relation to the realities of the Catholic Monarchs' reign. To Fernando and Isabel's Habsburg successors would be left the task of creating some unity out of the congeries of cultures, institutions, regional particularities, and religions. Their efforts for the most part would bear bitter fruit.

“*PRO EXALTATIONE SANCTAE FIDEI CATHOLICAE*”:  
MISSION AND CRUSADE IN THE WRITINGS OF  
RAMON LLULL

Pamela Drost Beattie

Although the Catalan Ramon Llull is best known as a prolific author of chiefly philosophical works designed for achieving the religious conversion of all non-Christians, and as an actual missionary to the same purpose, included among his literally hundreds of works are a handful of treatises and petitions advocating crusade.<sup>1</sup> The presence of these works in Llull's vast corpus immediately raises an interesting question—how could such an enthusiastic advocate of peaceful intellectual conversion simultaneously embrace and promote crusade?<sup>2</sup> This paper offers a tentative answer to this question by examining Llull's ideas on the relationship of mission and crusade in the context of some of the main themes of his thought. These themes can in turn shed some light on the broader question of the relationship of mission and crusade in the early fourteenth century and

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<sup>1</sup> Chief among these are *Quomodo Terra Sancta Recuperari Potest* and *Tractatus de Modo Convertendi Infideles*, ed. J. Rambaud-Buhot, in *Beati Magistri Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina* (Mallorca, 1954) 3:93–112; *De fine*, in *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina* [hereafter RLOL], ed. F. Stegmüller, et al. (Palma, 1959–67; Turnhout, 1975–present), 9:232–291; “*De Acquisitione Terre Sancte*,” Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 15450, fols. 544v.–547v.; *Petitio Raymundi in concilio generali ad acquirendum Terram Sanctam*, ed. E. Longpré, in “*Deux Opuscules inédits du B. Raymond Lull*,” *La France Franciscaine*, 18 (1935), 146–49. Crusading is mentioned in numerous other works by Llull, such as the petitions addressed to various popes, letters to Philip the Fair, romances, versions of his *Ars*, and treatises on conversion.

<sup>2</sup> The relationship between missions and crusade has been a matter of some debate. Some scholars argue that crusading fervor declined in the face of increased interest in missions or that crusade and mission were championed in opposition to one another. For example, see S. Runciman, “The Decline of the Crusading Idea,” in *Relazioni del X Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche*, vol. 3: *Storia del medioevo* (Florence, 1955), 637–52; Paul Rousset, “La Croisade obstacle à la mission,” *Nova et Vetera*, 57 (1982), 133–42; Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy 1244–1291* (Leiden, 1975); and Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches towards the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984). Others disagree; see Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095–1274* (Oxford, 1985); idem, “Missionaries and Crusaders, 1095–1274: Opponents or Allies?” *Studies in Church History*, 20 (Oxford, 1983), 103–10; Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: the Papacy, the West and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1316* (Oxford, 1991); and Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (Oxford, 1986).

indeed on several aspects of late medieval religious culture.

As an old man, Llull travelled to Vienne to present proposals regarding various matters of concern to the church, including the establishment of missionary *studia*, at the General Council. The apparent success his ideas achieved there was the crowning point of half a lifetime of campaigning.<sup>3</sup> In November of 1311, in connection with the Council, Llull composed a short work entitled *Disputatio Petri et Raymundi* or *Phantasticus*, summarizing the ideas he had advocated there. The work opens with a dialogue between Ramon himself and a cleric, Peter, travelling to the council together. Peter discovers that his companion is the famous layman Llull. Their subsequent conversation in the prologue (loosely translated) goes something like this:

Peter exclaimed, "Ramon, I have heard about you, that you are a great *phantasticus*. Tell me, what are you seeking at the Council?"

Ramon replied: "Three things. first that the lord pope and reverend cardinals might organize *studia* in which various languages can be taught so that afterwards the students, going out through all regions of the world, can preach the holy gospel of God, just as is commanded, and that this order might endure until all infidels have come to the Christian faith. Second, that the lord pope and reverend cardinals institute a general order which will contain all the religious knights. They will remain beyond the sea until the Holy Land is restored to the Christians, fighting against infidels there. And third, that the pope and his cardinals order the Averroist errors at Paris to be totally exterminated, since our most holy faith suffers much evil through them."

As soon as the cleric heard these words, he broke out into vehement laughter. "I believed," he said, "that you were crazy, Ramon, but now by your words I know that you are are not only crazy but the craziest person I have ever met."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For Llull's influence on Canon 11, see J.N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth Century France* (Oxford, 1971), 126–28. Whether or not this canon was ever applied in practice is another question entirely.

<sup>4</sup> *Phantasticus* or *Disputatio Petri et Raimundi*, RLOL 16:14: "Accidit duos homines, ad generale Concilium euntes, sibi inuicem obuiasse, quorum unus erat clericus et alter erat laicus. Clericus uero nomen suum a laico petiit; respondit laicus: Raimundus Lullus.

Ait clericus: Raimunde, diu de te audiui, quod magnus sis phantasticus. Age, dic mihi, quid in hoc generale Concilium aduenis impetraturus.

Ait Raimundus: Tria intendo.

Primum: Vt dominus papa et reuerendi cardinales studia, in quibus uaria discantur idiomata, statuere uelint, ut postmodum auditores, per omnia mundi climata proficiscentes, sancta Dei euangelia, sicut praeceptum est, praedicent, utque talis ordinatio eousque, dum omnes infideles ad christianorum ritum peruenerint, perduret.

Secundum: Vt dominus papa et reuerendi cardinales unum constituent generalem

More than a few modern scholars would agree with this assessment, but that is another issue. What this brief dialogue does is introduce us to Lull's main goals, the protection and propagation of the "most holy Christian faith," and his suggestion that they could be accomplished by missions and crusade. And Lull was brimming over with concrete ideas for each endeavor.

Lull mentions crusade in early works, but he did not energetically promote a crusade until after the fall of Acre in 1291. Perhaps by this time he was somewhat disillusioned by the lack of Christian success in converting Muslims as well as being justifiably alarmed at the seemingly relentless succession of Muslim victories.<sup>5</sup> His appeals to princes and prelates for their support in establishing missionary schools and organizing a crusade are imbued with a striking new sense of urgency. In *De Acquisitione* (written in 1309 and addressed to Clement V via Jaume II of Aragon) he voices this concern by mentioning a string of discouraging reports concerning Christian failure in converting Muslims and Tartars.<sup>6</sup>

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ordinem, omnes religiosos continentem milites, qui omnes ultra mare maneat, quousque Terra sancta christianis fuerit restituta, illic impugnantes infideles.

Tertium: Vt papa suique cardinales uelint ordinare Auerrois errores Parisii seminatos penitus extirpari, cum per eos plurima mala nostra sanctissima patiatur fides.

Mox uero clericus, ut haec uerba audiuit, risum profudit uehementer. Credebam, inquit, Raimunde, te phantasticum esse. Modo uero per haec tua uerba cognosco te non modo phantasticum, sed esse phantasticissimum."

<sup>5</sup> On western discouragement about converting especially Muslims in this period, see Robert I. Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth Century Dream of Conversion," *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971), 1386-1434; Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'orient au moyen âge (XII-XV)* (Rome, 1977); Richard Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962). E.R. Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1975), 5, argues that the failure of crusade led to interest in missions. I wonder if, based on sources such as Lull, it would be possible to argue the converse, namely that the failure of missions in this period caused renewed interest in the crusade.

<sup>6</sup> "*De Acquisitione*," fol. 547v.a: "Tres sunt imperatores tartarorum qui de terra plus possident quam inter christianos et omnes etiam sarracenos et tamen non preterierunt anni octuoginta quod ab eorum montibus exierunt; et talis subita infidelium multiplicatio multum periculosa est nauicule Sancti Petri. Nam vnus ex illis cum tota sua militia factus est sarracenus et dominus persarum qui Carbenda nominatur et sic ille magis posset impedire acquisitionem Terre Sancte quam aliquis homo uiuens; ratione cuius esset bonum quod dominus papa festinaret creare illos religiosos literatos in secunda distinctione superius nominatos ad conuertendum illum cum sua militia de nouo peruersum antequam essent indurati in secta Machometica et imbuti, et quod aliqui istorum religiosorum essent sub habitu religiosi militis Magistri Generalis. Sarraceni sunt valde cauteiosi et multum zelant ad exaltandum sectam siue legem eorum, et quia tartari sunt homines in scriptura rudes et grossi, faciunt

Within the genre of contemporary crusade propaganda, and this was a period of prolific output, much of the content of these treatises is neither entirely original nor unique to Llull.<sup>7</sup> His plans are unusual, however, in their persistent coupling of missionary endeavors to the crusade and in their utterly eclectic nature; at the very least he touches upon almost every contemporary issue of crusade planning. Llull discusses military tactics, advantages the Christian armies have over the Muslims (for example, the *almogàvers*), the best routes for the crusading armies to follow, economic embargoes, naval superiority, the question of leadership (notably his idea of a *Bellator Rex*), and the need to reform the military orders.<sup>8</sup> Nor does he shy away from the thorny problem of Constantinople: unless the schismatic Greeks submit to Rome "as a daughter to a mother" and ally with the west against the Muslims, the Holy Land will be restored to Christian hands only with great difficulty.<sup>9</sup> On this subject Llull displays varying degrees of sensitivity. He continually stresses the need for meaningful dialogue about theological differences, providing, of course, rational arguments to be used in such discussions. But as a last resort, especially in view of the urgency of the situation, coercion can be used.<sup>10</sup> Although Llull's crusading ideas have been called

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se eorum scriptores et baiuli, ut cum eis valeant participere et conuertere ad legem eorum; quare est dubium quod alii duo imperatores ad cautelas illorum peruertantur et postea periclitaretur in decuplo dicta nauicula Sancti Petri."

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, A.J. Forey, "The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," *Traditio*, 36 (1980), 317–45; and Schein, *Fideles Crucis*.

<sup>8</sup> These ideas are discussed in various manifestations in *Tractatus de Modo Convertendi Infideles*, *De Fine*, *De Acquisitione*.

<sup>9</sup> "*De Acquisitione*," fol. 545r.b: "Figuratum est quod ciuitas Romana et Constantinopolitana se debent habere contra infideles, quoniam olim Imperator Romanus cum ciuitate Constantinopolitana habebat victoriam de inimicis, et sic necesse est concordare ambo imperia ad acquisitionem Terre Sancte, ita quod ciuitas Constantinopolensis Romane ecclesie submittatur, sicut filia sue matri, et quod scisma grecorum destruat... Per acquisitionem Constantinopolis potest Terra Sancta acquiri bono modo et faciliter, sed sine ipsa grauitur et tarde."

<sup>10</sup> For the variation in Llull's plans concerning the Greeks see *Tractatus*, 100–101; *De Fine*, 276; "*De Acquisitione*," (see above, note 9); *Petitio Raymundi in concilio generali*, ed. E. Longpré, *La France Franciscaine*, 18 (1935), 150. Llull's concerns about the Greeks were twofold: first, the unity of the Christian world, and second, the obstacle presented by the existence of a schism to conversion; see "*De Acquisitione*," fol. 547r.b: "Adhuc accidit quod quidam sarracenus esse voluit christianus sed propter scismaticos nesciebat utrum se faceret grecum, iacopinum aut nestorianum, uel se faceret catholicum seu romanum. Postea, videns quod iudei non sustinent plures sectas, fecit se iudeum propter dubium euitandum. Hoc autem dico quia bonum esset habere contra scismaticos rationes, sicut in secunda distinctione superius est

“extravagant and extreme” (and in some ways they are), they also simultaneously display Llull’s practicality, his flexibility in the face of political reality, and not least his idealism.<sup>11</sup>

Llull persistently incorporates calls for peaceful evangelism in his crusade plans and suggests myriad ways to accomplish the religious conversion of no less than the entire world.<sup>12</sup> In contrast to crusade, the majority of his works elucidate his Art, a method designed to facilitate intellectual conversion by means of the demonstration of “necessary truths.”<sup>13</sup> Llull believed that his Art could be used in confrontations to dispute theological tenets with all kinds of non-Christians. Such disputations did indeed occur in the Crown of Aragon in the thirteenth century—in Barcelona in 1263 and in Majorca in 1286.<sup>14</sup> Llull’s dependence on intellectual persuasion shows us that his intended audience was primarily the intelligentsia, and his reliance on a shared philosophical background, both neo-Platonic and Aristotelian, suggests that his Art was chiefly addressed to Muslims and Jews, both “people of the book.” Hence Llull’s missionary treatises frequently ask which law—Jewish, Muslim or Christian—is

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expressum.” For the political realities involved in a crusade against Constantinople see F. Domínguez Reboiras, “*In civitate Pisana, in monasterio Sancti Domnini*: Algunas observaciones sobre la estancia de Ramon Llull en Pisa (1307–1308),” *Traditio*, 42 (1986), 430–36.

<sup>11</sup> The quotation is from C. Tyerman, “*‘Sed Nihil Fecit?’* The Last Capetians and the Recovery of the Holy Land,” in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (Cambridge, 1984), 170.

<sup>12</sup> See for example *De locutione angelorum*, RIOL 16:216, in which Llull rejoices about the accomplishments of the Council of Vienne and writes: “Et quia istae duae petitiones sunt concessae, Raimundus quamplurimum est gaudis, ex eo quia cum praedicta ordinatione saraceni facilius capi poterunt et deuinci; et ipsis deuictis, conuertetur facilius totus mundus, nam ipsi sunt, qui impediunt uniuersum.”

<sup>13</sup> For a lucid introduction to Llull’s Art see Francis Yates, “The Art of Ramon Llull: An Approach to it through Llull’s Theory of the Elements,” in *Lull and Bruno: Collected Essays* (London, 1982), 1:9–77, also in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 17 (1954), 115–173; Charles Lohr, “Les fondements de la logique nouvelle de Raymond Lulle,” in *Raymond Lulle et le Pays d’Oc*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, no. 22 (Toulouse, 1987), 233–48; and Mark D. Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull* (Oxford, 1987), 15–27.

<sup>14</sup> See David Berger, “Mission to the Jews and Jewish Christian contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle Ages,” *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), 576–91; and Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its Aftermath* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992). For the disputation of Majorca, see Inghetto Contardo, *Disputatio contra Iudeos / controverse avec les Juifs*, ed. and French trans. Gilbert Dahan (Paris, 1993); the same text has been edited by Ora Limor, *Die Disputation zu Ceuta (1179) und die Disputatio zu Mallorca (1286): Zwei antijüdische Schriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Genua*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters (Munich, forthcoming 1994).

superior; these terms are characteristic of medieval Spanish religious polemic.<sup>15</sup>

Of the utmost importance in Llull's program was education of the missionaries. Llull was a great promoter of missionary *studia* in the Dominican fashion and even founded his own school at Miramar in Majorca.<sup>16</sup> In fact, most of Llull's tireless campaigning for missions attempted to persuade both ecclesiastical and secular rulers to establish such *studia*. He wanted potential missionaries to study the language and the culture of various non-Christian societies; he wanted the education to be continuous so that as soon as two missionaries set out, two more students could take their place; and above all he wanted the missionaries to be of a certain character, namely devoted to the promotion of God's word to the extent that they were not only willing to endure martyrdom, but were in fact desirous of it.<sup>17</sup> Llull's emphasis on the centrality of martyrdom in attaining religious conversion is perhaps more reminiscent of Franciscan spirituality and its ideal of *imitatio Christi* than of Dominican dependence on education and intellect, although we should not create a false dichotomy.<sup>18</sup> When Llull converted from his life of profligacy, the erstwhile troubadour and courtier redirected his fervor towards three goals all aimed at the conversion of unbelievers: offering his life to Christ in missionary efforts, writing "the best book ever" designed to refute non-Christian opinion, and establishing schools to train potential missionaries.<sup>19</sup> Llull's own life speaks eloquently of his devotion to the missionary ideals of both mendicant orders.

<sup>15</sup> In fact, one of Llull's treatises even bears the lengthy title *Liber per quem poterit cognosci quae lex sit magis bona, magis magna, et etiam magis vera*.

<sup>16</sup> Hillgarth, *Lull and Lullism*, 48; Sebastián Garcías Palou, *El Miramar de Ramon Llull* (Palma de Mallorca, 1977).

<sup>17</sup> See "*De Acquisitione*," f. 546ra; *De Fine*, prologus, 250; *De Fine* I.1, 252-5. Llull recognizes the specific problems faced by missionaries who lack linguistic proficiency or who have to work through interpreters (*De Fine*, 254).

<sup>18</sup> See Daniel, *Franciscan Concept of Mission*; and Caroline Bynum, "Franciscan Spirituality: Two Approaches," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 7 (1976), 195-197, which moderates this sharp distinction between Franciscan and Dominican missionary methods. Llull's writings exude the idea that the example of martyrdom not only preaches to unbelievers, but also to other Christians, besides bestowing great blessing upon the martyr himself, who dies in imitation of Christ.

<sup>19</sup> Ramon Llull, *Vita Coetanea*, I.8, RLOL 8:276: "His igitur tribus articulis supra dictis in animo suo firmiter iam conceptis, uidelicet de morte toleranda pro Christo, conuertendo ad eius seruitium infideles, de libro supra dicto, si daret Deus, etiam faciendo, necnon de monasteriis impetrandis pro diuersis linguagiis addiscendis, ut superius est praetactum." See also *Breviculum seu Electorium Paruum Thomae Migerii* (*Le*



Some of Llull's other missionary schemes are more unusual; he envisioned using converts to convert their former co-religionists.<sup>20</sup> He saw the potential for merchants and other Christian laymen to engage in missionary activities; and he suggested that learned men be sent among them, considering their frequent doctrinal errors and ignorance of persuasive arguments in support of their faith to be both a detriment to Christianity and an obstacle to conversion.<sup>21</sup> Towards the end of his life, together with his compatriot Arnau de Vilanova, he enthusiastically encouraged educational exchanges between Muslims and Christians.<sup>22</sup> Implicit in this plan is the conviction that if the Muslims truly understood Christianity they would not hesitate to convert, especially since many elements of their own religion were untenable.<sup>23</sup>

Other proposals are less palatable to the modern mind, although they were consistent with contemporary legal and theological opinion. Among these are compulsory education of non-Christian children<sup>24</sup>

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*Myésier*), *RLOL Supplementi Lulliani* (Turnhout, 1990), 1:3–5; *Libre de Contemplació en Deu*, Lib. 3, chap. 118, no. 30, in *Obres de Ramon Lull* [hereafter *Obres*], ed. Salvador Galmés, et al. (Palma, 1906–50), 4:103.

<sup>20</sup> For example *De Fine*, II.6, 283, where the converts are in fact captives of the crusading army.

<sup>21</sup> “*De acquisitione*,” fols. 546r.b and 547r.b–547v.a, for the opportunities for evangelism missed by ignorant or blasphemous Christians; and *Blanquerna*, chap. 80 in *Obres Essencials*, ed. M. Batllori, et al. (Barcelona, 1957) 1:231, for the plan to educate knights with brief arguments for the faith so they can go to kings and princes of unbelievers and challenge them by arms or learning. Chap. 80:232 describes how this plan works in actual practise.

<sup>22</sup> *Liber de participatione christianorum et sarracenorum, prologus*, RLOL 16:246: “Dum sic Raimundus considerabat, proposuit uenire ad nobilissimum uirtuosissimum dominum Fredericum regem Trinacriae, ut ipse, cum sit fons deuotionis, ordinet cum altissimo et potentissimo rege Tunicii, quod christiani bene litterati et lingua arabica habituati uadunt Tunicium ad ostendendum ueritatem de fide, et quod saraceni bene litterati ueniant ad regnum Siciliae ad disputandum cum sapientibus christianis de fide eorum. Et forte per talem modum posset esse pax inter christianos et saracenos, habendo talem modum per uniuersum mundum, non quod christiani uadant ad destruendum saracenos, nec saraceni christianos.” For earlier incarnations of this idea see *Blanquerna*, chap. 80:230; *Tractatus*, 104; *Petitio Raymundi* (to Boniface VIII), ed. Longpré, in “Deux Opuscules inédits du B. Raymond Lull,” 148. On Llull's possible collaboration with Arnau de Vilanova see Hillgarth, *Lull and Lullism*, 131, which discusses Arnau's *Informació Espiritual*.

<sup>23</sup> For example “*De Acquisitione*,” fol. 546r.a: “credulitas sarracenorum est grossa et sensibilis,” and fol. 546r.b: “Sarraceni bene litterati non credunt vere quod Machometus sit propheta. Nam in alcoranus, in quo est lex eorum, inueniunt multa inconuenientia contra sanctitatem et veram prophetiam.” Dominique Urvoy, “Ramon Lull et l'Islam,” *Islamochristiana*, 7 (1981), 132–33, discusses this idea that Muslims merely misunderstood Christian belief.

<sup>24</sup> *Doctrina Pueril*, chap. 83, no. 4, ed. Gret Schib, *El Nostres Clàssics Col·lecció A*, no.104 (Barcelona, 1972), 194–95. Llull also advocates better education for Christian

and mandatory attendance at sermons in areas where Muslims and Jews were subject to Christian rule.<sup>25</sup> These attempts at evangelization were to be supervised by the church with the cooperation of secular rulers.<sup>26</sup> In all this, Llull remained faithful to the tradition which abhorred forcible conversion—an individual had to own Jesus Christ as Savior in his heart to be truly Christian. But in admitting the use of force to obtain the opportunity for evangelization, Llull's ideas epitomize the peculiarly medieval understanding of the limits of toleration when it came to religious matters—an understanding which could enable theologians to view the crusade or the inquisition as acts of love.<sup>27</sup> This can clearly be seen at work where Llull explicitly made missions an integral part of crusading activity. For example, he promoted crusades in order to open up lands under Muslim rule to Christian preachers.<sup>28</sup> He strongly encouraged mis-

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children, who like their Saracen counterparts should be brought up to be prepared to die for their faith (Llull is thinking of the training of the Assassins). All the energy secular men expended on worldly quests could be so much more profitably applied to God's causes. See *Petitio Raymundi* (to Boniface VIII), 148–49. Compare *De fine*, 255.

<sup>25</sup> *De fine*, I.3, 259; *Petitio Raymundi in concilio generali* (see above, note 1), 153: "De octava ordination. Multi Judaei et etiam Sarraceni sunt subjecti christianis et maxime in Hispania, et ideo bonum, magnum et verum esset quod Judaeis praedicentur in die sabbati et Sarracenis in die veneris, quia in illis diebus est festum eorum, et quod sermones reducantur ad syllogismos et ad intelligibile . . . et si talis praedicatio sit perpetua, necessario sequeretur quod Judaei atque Sarraceni venirent ad viam veritatis quia intellectus magis se delectat et se impingat per intelligere quam per credere." Compare *Liber per quem poterit cognosci quae lex*, cited in Hillgarth, *Lull and Lullism*, 130 n. 351, where Llull suggests that Muslims should be forced by Christian princes to listen to preaching (Majorca, 1313). In "*De Acquisitione*," fols. 546v.a–546v.b, Llull goes to the furthest extreme and advocates that the Jews be banished if they refuse to convert. For a discussion of Christian-Jewish relations in Spain see Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond*; Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews* (Ithaca, 1982); and his "Scholarship and Intolerance in the Medieval Academy: The Study and Evaluation of Judaism in European Christendom," *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), 592–613.

<sup>26</sup> As when Jaume I of Aragon became the first king to compel Jewish presence at mendicant preaching by law in 1242; see Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 82.

<sup>27</sup> For canonical opinion on this subject see James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels* (Philadelphia, 1979); James M. Powell, ed., *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300* (Princeton, 1990); Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*; J. Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History*, 65 (1980), 177–92. The notion of political war *ex caritate* was also current at this time; see Ernst Kantorowicz, "*Pro patria mori* in Medieval Political Thought," *American Historical Review*, 56 (1950–51), 482.

<sup>28</sup> For this idea, and variations on it, see *Blanquerna*, chaps. 80–82, 232–37, and chap. 87, 246–47. Compare *Ars iuris*, ed. B. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, app. 7, 225–28; and Llull's epistle to Philip IV, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum* (Paris, 1717), I, col. 1316: "Falsitas igitur veritatis fidei repugnatrix est doctrina et gladio devincenda, ut auxiliante Deo, religio christiana praevaleat."

sionaries to accompany crusade armies; in *De Fine*, he argued that these preachers could take care of the spiritual welfare of the crusaders, write and translate communications, and educate captives, who, whether they converted or not, could be used to engage in rational disputations with the Muslims. Some preachers could even be sent to Muslim rulers with offers of castles and cities if they agreed to convert. They could even be used as spies! And finally, they could preach conversion throughout the land.<sup>29</sup> Everyone is familiar with the image of St. Francis preaching to the Sultan at Damietta; likely Llull had something along these lines in mind too.

But this is an obvious relation of missions with crusade in Llull's work, and although he often wrote about missions without alluding to the crusade, I have not encountered one work in which Llull advocated the crusade without discussing the necessity for peaceful evangelism somewhere else in the same work. A brief perusal of Llull's views supports the contention that his thought included the notion of crusade in the service of mission, but it is more complex than simply this. Llull always preferred peaceful missions but granted that occasionally force was necessary and, in fact, that crusade itself had merit.<sup>30</sup> This makes more sense in the context of some of the overriding themes in Llull's thought.

Chief among these is Llull's conception of the end of man. According to Llull, man's ultimate goal was to praise and honor God within a world that was peaceful, unified through the love of God, and directed only towards His glory. It is no accident that his most extensive work on the crusade, appropriately entitled *De fine*, gives an

<sup>29</sup> *De Fine*, II.6, 282–84. Compare Llull's scorn for the Muslims who offer bribes as inducement for conversion of Christians in "*De Acquisitione*," fol. 547v.a.

<sup>30</sup> It must be noted that the question of the relationship between peaceful and violent persuasion occurred to Llull as well as other contemporaries. See "*De baptizazione Tartari*" in *Liber super Psalmum 'Quicumque Vult' sive Liber Tartari et Christiani*, Pars 35, no. 10, in *Raymundi Lulli Opera Omnia*, ed. Ivo Salzinger (Mainz, 1721–1742) [hereafter MOG]; repr. ed., Friedrich Stegmüller (Frankfurt, 1965), 4:376, where Llull's characters ask each other whether conversion by the apostolic method or frightening unbelievers into conversion by force of arms is more beneficial to the Church. In *Blanquerna*, chap. 80, 229, the Sultan sends a messenger to the papal court to marvel that the Christians use force, just like the Muslims, instead of the apostolic method to convert unbelievers. But in a later chapter (chap. 82, 236–37), after both a preacher and a philosopher suffer martyrdom for the Christian faith and a knight fights the same Muslims until he too becomes a martyr, having "praised God in the office of arms," the question is asked which person served God best. The curia decides not to answer the question because devotion was increased by the discussion itself. Compare *Libre de Contemplació*, lib. 3, chap. 112 in *Obres*, 4:57–63.

eloquent expression of this idea.<sup>31</sup> Phrases such as *bonum publicum* and *publica utilitas* are ubiquitous in his works and these ideals inform his many plans for religious conversion.<sup>32</sup> Because of the potential earthly manifestation of Llull's ambitious dreams of a world unified in God's service the crusade as well as missions has a justified place in human activity. The gravity of God's requirements justifies the use of compulsion in, for example, bringing the Greek schismatics back to the Roman church, as well as crusade. After all, souls are at stake. Moreover, Llull's plans evince a strong conviction of the church's responsibility towards those outside its fold, those *extra ecclesiam* who were considered at different times to be either lost sheep in need of the Church's succor or wolves jeopardizing the sanctity and unity of the Church. Llull conveyed both opinions, giving the second precedence and voicing it with increased urgency in the face of the Christians' final loss of the Holy Land, the growing threat of the Tartars, and the failure of missionaries to make substantial inroads into Islam.<sup>33</sup>

One of the more unusual elements of Llull's scheme was his belief that this responsibility not only impinged upon the institutional Church but on all the Christian faithful, even merchants, shipbuilders, and knights.<sup>34</sup> If each person fulfilled his God-given role, a unified Christian world could become a reality; consequently Llull emphasized

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<sup>31</sup> *De Fine*, prologus, 250–51. Compare *Tractatus*, 106; *Petitio Raymundi (to Boniface VIII)*, ed. Longpré, 146: "cum Deus creavit homines ut eum cognoscant, diligant et honorent et recolant in veritate."; *Petitio Raymundi (to Celestine V)* in MOG, 2:174b; *Petitio Raymundi in concilio, prologus*, ed. Longpré, 149, where Llull declares that he presents these ideas because "in ipsis implicatur generalis exaltatio sanctae fidei catholicae et bonus status totius universi."

<sup>32</sup> See for example where Llull discusses the advantages of his plans in *Petitio Raymundi (to Celestine V)*, in MOG, 2:175b: "considerate, quod publica utilitas parum ametur, et quod omnes clament contra Clericos; quare esset magna excusatio Clericis in tractando supradicta, quia darent bonum exemplum de se ipsis, et de suis operibus." See also *Petitio Raymundi (to Boniface VIII)*, ed. Longpré, 149; and *Tractatus*, 105–11.

<sup>33</sup> *De Fine*, prologus, 250: "Cum mundus in malo statu diu permanserit, et adhuc timendum sit de peiori, eo quia pauci sunt christiani, et tamen multi sunt infideles, qui conantur cotidie, ut ipsos destruant christianos, et multiplicando se eorum terras capiunt et usurpant, sanctissimam Dei ueram et dignissimam trinitatem ac Domini nostri Iesu Christi incarnationem beatissimam blasphemant, uiliter abnegando, et ad dedecus caelestis curiae possident Terram sanctam." These are the reasons Llull is advocating his plans for mission and crusade.

<sup>34</sup> *De Fine*, II.7, 284–85; *Tractatus*, 101–2; *Petitio Raymundi in concilio*, 150: "multi milites saeculares et etiam pedites venirent cum expensis suis et instarent hoc quia desiderarent mori pro Christo." See also *Blanquerna* and "De Acquisitione," note 21 above. For Llull's view of these vocations see Armand Llinares, "Le travail manuel et les arts mécaniques chez Raymon Lulle," in *Lulle et le Pays D'Oc*, 169–89.

reform at all levels of medieval society. In response to critics of his program, Llull was adamant; the failure of missionaries as well as crusaders was a result of man's failure to wholeheartedly participate in such programs.<sup>35</sup> Llull was not only disappointed in clerics and ecclesiastical princes, he admonished earthly rulers concerning their great responsibilities in these areas. Letters flattering Philip the Fair as the *pugil ecclesiae* and defender of the faith not only reflect political expediency but also illustrate Llull's high expectations for secular rulers to act in the spiritual realm.<sup>36</sup> A treatise Llull wrote just prior to his final bid for martyrdom in North Africa candidly expresses his disappointment in the Holy Roman Empire for its failure in God's cause.<sup>37</sup>

Missions and crusade are complementary in the spiritual world too. God's enemies are the church's enemies; the spiritual battle being fought has earthly ramifications. Weapons may be used against intractable unbelievers because the soul is more important than the body.<sup>38</sup> Llull's treatises exhibit a spiritual concern with bringing about the City of God, a concern closely related with the conversion of all peoples and the acquisition of the Holy Land with the city of Jerusalem. Man is called to the imitation of Christ in this contest. Crusaders, along with missionaries, can earn the martyr's crown; they

<sup>35</sup> "*De Acquisitione*," fol. 546v.a; *Disputatio Petri et Raymundi*, RLOL 16:29; *De Consilio*, prologus, RLOL 10:120; *De fine*, I.1, 254. The existence of many more infidels than Christians in the world presented similar questions. See *De Consilio*, II.6.186, 214: "Quidam papa fecit quaestionem in consistorio: Quae est causa, quare sunt plures infideles, quam fideles, cum fideles conueniant cum ueritate, et ueritas cum esse; et infideles cum falsitate et falsitas cum non esse?" Robert Grosseteste voiced the same concern in 1250 at Innocent IV's papal curia. See Servus Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia, Lyons 1250: Edition of the Documents," *Collectanea Franciscana*, 41 (1971) no. 6, 353: "Plurimam namque mundi partem occupavit infidelitas et a Christo separavit. De parte uero dicta christiana magnam partem separavit a Christo schisma. De parte residua, quae respectu duarum praenominatorum admodum ut puto et parua est et pauca, non modicum portionem separavit a Christo haeretica prauitas."

<sup>36</sup> For example, *De Consilio*, prologus, RLOL 10:120; *De Praedicatione*, 37.II.2, RLOL 5:145-46; *Liber Clericorum*, *Obres* 1:385-86. The letter to Philip the Fair can be found in Martène and Durand, cols. 1315-16. Compare *Liber Natalis*, IV.a, RLOL 7:69-70. Llull addressed *Liber de Participatione Sarracenorum et Christianorum*, RLOL 16, to Frederick III of Sicily.

<sup>37</sup> *De Civitate Mundi*, RLOL 2: prologus, 173 and II.12-III.4, 194-99. Compare *Tractatus*, 102; and *De Praedicatione*, 37.II.2, RLOL 5:145.

<sup>38</sup> For example *Blanquerna*, chap. 81, 233-34; "*De Acquisitione*," fol. 547r.a. A Christian's soul is even at stake if he fails to carry out God's work. Llull gives the peril of his own soul as incentive for his own activities on behalf of the *negotium Dei* in *De Fine*, 251 and "*De Acquisitione*," fol. 544v.b.

too can preach via the outpouring of blood. Actions aimed at religious conversion can speak as loudly as words.<sup>39</sup>

Llull uses the traditional metaphor of the two swords (or alternatively, the spiritual and corporal treasury of the Church) to further relate mission and crusade. In a petition addressed to Celestine V, Llull requested that he "open the treasury of the holy Church to procure that those who are in error, and who neither know God nor love Him, might come to the light of truth and follow the end for which they were created."<sup>40</sup> This treasure was twofold: spiritual, supporting missionary preparation and preaching; and corporal, consisting of papal organization of a tithe for conquering the lands of the infidel and the Holy Land by force of arms, until the whole world became Christian.<sup>41</sup> Gathering money was only part of the Church's involvement in crusade. In other works, where he uses the figure of the two swords to describe the Church's activity vis-à-vis unbelievers (or schismatics, for that matter) Llull is clear that the pope and prelates had more than a distant role to play. It was their duty to organize the crusade, to delegate responsibility to secular rulers, and perhaps to even accompany the crusaders.<sup>42</sup> Effort to organize and successfully carry out programs of evangelization and crusades were equally the calling of secular leaders or laymen and clergy or preachers. The sacredness of the task made failure all the more crushing, and reform that much more urgent.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> The theme of martyrdom is prevalent in Llull's writings, and is grounded in his own conversion ideals. See *De fine*, 254: "Fides catholica incepta cum praedicatione, et multiplicata fuit cum sanctitate, sanguine et labore. Vnde sequitur, quod sua multiplicatio consistit in potentia sanctitatis, martyrii et laboris. Sed quare non est in multiplicatione in tempore, in quo sumus? Respondemus: Quia non habemus martyres, neque laborantes cum feruenti desiderio de sanctitate." Martyrdom is not reserved for preachers; see *De Fine*, 272: "multi milites saeculares et multi burgenses siue alii homines saeculares et populares cum suis propriis sumptibus seu expensis irent uoluntari ad exercitium taliter ordinatum . . . Nam multi sunt desiderantes mori propter nostrum Dominum Iesum Christum." For martyrdom in Franciscan thought, see E.R. Daniel, "The Desire for Martyrdom: a *Leitmotiv* of St. Bonaventure," *Franciscan Studies*, 32 (1972), 74-87; and the same author's *Franciscan Concept of Mission*.

<sup>40</sup> *Petitio Raymundi ad Celestinum V*, MOG 2:174b: "aperiretis thesaurum S. Ecclesiae ad procurandum, quomodo illi, qui sunt in errore, et Deum non cognoscunt nec amant, venirent ad lumen veritatis, et sequerentur finem, propter quem sunt creati."

<sup>41</sup> *Petitio Raymundi ad Celestinum V*, 174b-175a.

<sup>42</sup> For a few examples, see *De Praedicatione*, RLOL 5:146-7; *Liber Natalis*, RLOL 7:70; *Tractatus*, 100-101; *De Fine*, 255; *Phantasticus*, 28.

<sup>43</sup> The investigation of the relationship between mission and crusade is fertile ground for examination of theorizing about the relationship between Church and

The incorporation of both mission and crusade into his ambitious scheme for realizing God's plan for his church raises some intriguing theological questions, which Llull addressed implicitly. The first relates to providence and the economy of salvation, namely what is the extent to which God depends on His people as instruments for accomplishing his designs. Llull himself placed a great responsibility on the shoulders of the faithful for action in this respect, using the analogy of the Church as the body of Christ.<sup>44</sup>

A second issue, related to this, is the strong eschatological sense in Llull's program.<sup>45</sup> This in itself was not unusual, particularly as it is known that Llull was strongly influenced by Franciscan spirituality,

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State. Although Llull sees their respective dominions as being cooperative, he is very clear that both crusade and mission should be under the ultimate leadership of the papacy. For an example of Llull's thought on this point see *De Praedicatione*, 318. Because of his exalted view of the papacy, Llull's political theory, if it can be called that, is often considered old-fashioned, more suited to the era of Gregorian Reform; see Helene Wieruszowski, "Ramon Llull et l'idée de la Cité de Dieu: Quelques nouveaux écrits sur la croisade," in *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy* (Rome, 1971), 147–71. But Llull was dealing with his *ideal* of the papacy rather than with reality, holding up a model for the curia to follow, rather than a mirror. The Augustinian view of history, which seemed to inspire the Franciscans at least, was prevalent in Llull's day; see Heiko Oberman, "Fourteenth Century Religious Thought: A Premature Profile," *Speculum*, 53 (1978), 80–93. The turn of the century marked the pinnacle of claims for the papal see, both by those not so much interested in papal infallibility as in the standard of holiness the popes should aspire to, as well as by popes such as Boniface VIII, Clement V, and John XXII who made exaggerated claims to temporal jurisdiction in other circumstances. See Boniface's *Unam sanctam*, Clement's *Cura pastoralis*, and John's *Si fratrum*; for the latter two see Blake R. Beattie, "Aspects and Problems of Avignonese Legations to Italy: The Mission of Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, 1326–1334," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1992, 12–13. See also E.R. Daniel, "Roger Bacon and the *De seminibus scripturarum*," *Mediaeval Studies*, 34 (1972), 462–67; Gerhard Ladner, "The Concepts of *Ecclesia* and *Christianitas* and their Relation to the Idea of a Papal *Plenitudo Potestatis* from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII," in *Sacerdozio e regno da Gregorio VII a Bonifacio VIII* (Rome, 1954), 49–77.

<sup>44</sup> See for example *Doctrina Pueril*, chap. 83, 194. In this period, the theological concept of the *corpus mysticum* was applied to many social organizations besides the Church itself. See Kantorowicz, "*Pro patria mori*," 484–7; and the same author's *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957). Llull's *De Fine*, 255, states this idea in bold terms: "Et iam dixerunt apostoli Iesu Christo (Luke 22:38): Ecce, hic duos gladios. Et ipse respondit: Sufficiunt. Et per hoc fuit figuratum, quod bellare deberetis cum praedicatione et cum armis contra homines infideles. Et nescitis uos, quod Christus dixit (Matt. 12:30): Qui non est mecum, contra me est?"

<sup>45</sup> For an example of Llull's sense of eschatological urgency see *De Fine*, 254: "Incipite, pro Deo, incipite. Nam mors uenit, et mille anni sunt iam praeteriti seu elapsi, in quibus melius negotium isto inceptum non fuit." In general see Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979) and Robert Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983).

and perhaps even by Spiritual Franciscans themselves.<sup>46</sup> Evidence of Lull's cooperation with Arnau of Vilanova exists, and he had many opportunities for further such contact with Spirituals in Catalonia, Southern France, and Italy. Ideas concerning angelic popes, last world emperors, the ultimate conversion of all peoples, and the imminent recovery of Jerusalem were prevalent in the circles in which he moved.<sup>47</sup> The influence of these ideas can be seen in Lull's program, for example in his emphasis on the *renovatio mundi*, although he incorporated them in a less radical way than some of his contemporaries. However, his understanding of the relationship between mission and crusade bears further investigation in the context of the interplay between politics, religion, and apocalyptic theory.<sup>48</sup> It is notable too, in this period in general, that the writers on crusade and mission topics, be it at the papal court in Avignon, or at secular courts, consistently related crusade, missions, and church reform.<sup>49</sup>

One of the most interesting questions that emerges from a discussion of the relationship between missions and crusade in this period is that of how the west perceived itself as a political and religious entity in relation to all those *extra ecclesiam*. Contemporary missionary polemic demonstrated a failure to distinguish, at least in rhetoric, between different types of schismatics and unbelievers, although the

<sup>46</sup> This is evident in the visions leading up to Lull's own conversion, the conversion itself, inspired by Franciscan preaching, and his mystical experience and intellectual illumination on Mt. Randa. See the *Vita Coetanea*, RLOL 8:272–84. For the intensely personal inspiration of Lull's subsequent actions and thought see Hillgarth, *Lull and Lullism*, 1.

<sup>47</sup> Prophecies were often related to church reform and crusade. For the circulation of such ideas see E.A.R. Brown and Robert Lerner "On the Origins and Import of the Columbinus Prophecy," *Traditio*, 45 (1990), 219–256; Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent* (New York, 1967), 1:167–255; José M. Pou y Martí, *Visionarios, Beguinos y Fraticelos Catalanes (Siglos XIII–XV)* (Vich, 1930; repr. Madrid, 1991); and Marjorie Reeves, "Some Popular Prophecies from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries," *Studies in Church History*, 8 (1972), 107–34; to mention only a handful of the valuable works on this subject.

<sup>48</sup> See the interesting points made, and valuable studies cited, by Angus MacKay concerning the late medieval Spanish frontier as an eschatological frontier (he deals with the fifteenth century in this regard) in "Religion, Culture and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granada Frontier," in MacKay and R. Bartlett, eds., *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford, 1989), 241–43.

<sup>49</sup> For example Pierre Dubois, *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte*, ed. Charles Langlois (Paris, 1891); and Guillaume Durant the Younger, "*Informacio brevis super hiis que viderentur ex nunc fore providenda quantum ad passagium*," Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7470, fols. 117–123. Tyerman, "Sed Nihil Fecit," 173–4, mentions that crusade was often discussed at the French and papal curias as part of broader issues. See also Brown and Lerner, "On the Origins and Import of the Columbinus Prophecy."



people in the west were certainly aware these differences existed. Despite a genuine curiosity about different cultures and religious practices, sources for the history of missions do not show that care was taken to adjust missionary approaches accordingly.<sup>50</sup> Llull was somewhat unusual in this regard. Not only did he advocate the study of appropriate languages, but his missionary theory attempted to go beyond cultural and religious differences to argue on the basis of principles held in common by the different religions, and even to establish such common principles where they did not previously exist.<sup>51</sup>

The unvariegated character of missionary rhetoric in this period was paralleled in the cultural sphere. Races and cultures outside the boundaries of Christendom in general were regarded as barbaric. Despite increased contact with such peoples, information about them was based on expectations arising from rumor, myths, and ancient traditions of monstrous races and paradise lying just around the corner.<sup>52</sup> These ideas cause mission and crusade to become inextricably related to the growing self-consciousness of Christendom. It is only logical that increasing awareness of cultural and religious differences achieved through the interaction resulting from crusades, economic and commercial expansion throughout the Mediterranean regions, and accounts from travellers and missionaries to the east, caused increased introspection on the part of the west.<sup>53</sup> Such interaction not only brought into sharper relief questions about the Church's responsibility to those outside Christian lands but it also gave a renewed urgency to what some historians have termed the "Christianization" of western Europe. Medieval Christendom could

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<sup>50</sup> See James Muldoon, "The Avignon Papacy and the Frontiers of Christendom: The Evidence of Vatican Register 62," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 17 (1979), 125–95. For more on this idea in connection with the missionary journey of Odoric of Pordenone, an Italian Franciscan, see Pamela Beattie, "Dreams of Missions and Monsters in the East," *Scintilla*, 8 (1991), 1–24.

<sup>51</sup> For example, "*De Acquisitione*," II.6 (*De tartaris*), fol. 547r.a.

<sup>52</sup> See Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960); Jacques Le Goff, "The Medieval West and the Indian Ocean: An Oniric Horizon," in *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago, 1977), 189–200; J.R.S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (Oxford, 1988); R. Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 159–97.

<sup>53</sup> Various scholars have advanced tantalizing ideas about the manner in which this took place. Cohen, "Scholarship and Intolerance," 605, suggests that there was a linkage between the intellectual reawakening of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the simultaneous hardening of attitudes towards those of other faiths. Norman

consider itself as an entity distinct from heathens, or Muslims, or the east in general, only in terms of what it perceived as its own Christian character. *Christianitas* was a term used by medieval writers themselves to describe their social and religious polity; and because many contemporaries "understood just how tenuous Christianity's hold was" in the world and "believed that people's eternal fate really did hang in the balance," they strove towards the actualization of Christian norms in their lives and they "acted forcefully to repress dissent and superstition."<sup>54</sup> Lull was not the only traveller to the curia to chastize and call to duty the pope and the cardinals in the face of impending doom. If Christianization "required, in cultural terms, the putting in place of the means to structure Christian profession and practise," we must see not only the work of the preachers in the medieval west, but also the work of the missionaries and crusaders among the unbelievers as part of this endeavor.<sup>55</sup> Such a concern was apparent in Lull's desire to not only recover the Holy Land but to fortify, organize, maintain, and populate it.

The history of both missions and crusades in this period is intermeshed, and perhaps Lull entangled the two endeavors more than any other theorist of his time. As a result, he has been called a man of many opinions, with the implication that he was inconsistent. On the contrary, the variety (and granted it is wide) of his ideas about missions and crusade is exemplary of the many different positions of Muslims and other unbelievers vis-à-vis the Christian world. Lull relied on methods such as education and disputation where the infidels were minorities under Christian rule and called for recourse to arms in regions where Christian and Muslim powers vied for political and economic control. He consistently preferred apostolic methods of evangelization, but allowed that a crusade could be necessary and even beneficial under certain circumstances, as long

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Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe* (London, 1975), 245–48, argues that Christian interaction with Muslims must be seen in light of Europe's thirst for orthodoxy and hence that 'proofs' of Christian doctrine were often for internal consumption, rather than missionary oriented; that the conformity of Europe was expressed in theological terms. Whatever the truth of these hypotheses, J.N. Hillgarth has noted that Lull's works *were* actually used for missionary purposes, for example in a religious disputation in Fez in 1394; on this event see also Anthony Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232–1316)* (Princeton, 1985), 1:193 n. 8.

<sup>54</sup> John Van Engen, "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem," *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), 538–39. I am grateful also to Dr. J. Goering for some of these ideas which arose in a seminar at the University of Toronto.

<sup>55</sup> Quotation is from Van Engen, "Christian Middle Ages," 541.

as religious conversion of unbelievers was the crusaders' main agenda. To simultaneously endorse crusade and promote peaceful missions seems anomalous to us. But for Lull, both of these activities had merit according to their proper place in his overall conception of man's goals and his scheme for accomplishing them. And both activities were grounded in the personal goals of Lull's own conversion. His plans alternately overflow with optimism or despairingly lament the failures of Christendom. They reflect his idealism but also his practicality. Was Lull a *phantasticus*? The story of the cleric and the old man on their way to the General Council, with which we began, is instructive. Lull's response to the cleric's derisive laughter was to assert that maybe he was a fool but: "I don't think I'm crazy. For all these things which I've mentioned are possible and ought to be done. Maybe *you* are crazy, you who burst forth into fantastic laughter instead of paying attention to my words. For you, who are a cleric, ought much more than I, who am a layman, incline your mind and devotion to matters of this kind."<sup>56</sup>

Despite Lull's ephemeral success at Vienne, his plans ultimately failed, and thus the course of history seems to support the cleric's opinion. However, as to who the real *phantasticus* was, one can cite Lull's words to the cleric, "Let your conscience be the judge."<sup>57</sup> Perhaps it is notable that Lull's own solution to the question was to try to settle it not via armed confrontation, but rather, rational debate.

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<sup>56</sup> *Phantasticus* or *Disputatio Petri et Raymundi*, prologus, 14: "Ait Raimundus: Fortasse; uerum meas non percipio phantasias. Nam ea, quae dixi, et possibilia sunt, et fieri debita sunt, et non minus fructuosa. Sed forsitan tu ipse phantasticus es, qui phantastice risum profundis neque ad mea uerba mentem inclinas. Deberes tamen, cum clericus sis, potius quam ego, qui sum laicus, mentem deuotionemque ad eiusmodi rem inclinare."

<sup>57</sup> *Phantasticus*, 15: "Conscientia tua iudex existat."



PART TWO

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY  
IN IBERIA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN



## EARLY CATALAN CONTACTS WITH BYZANTIUM

*Stephen P. Bensch*

For historians of the medieval Crown of Aragon, the Greek East has long stood for intrigue, high adventure, and resolute pride in Catalan expansion. Whether dealing with the remarkable exploits of the Catalan Company as it moved with the destructive power of a tornado through Asia Minor and Greece from 1303 to 1311, with the intricate diplomatic maneuverings among the papacy, Palaeologi, Aragonese, Angevins, Genoese, and Venetians for claims to the tottering Byzantine world, or with the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatria, early investigators into the Mediterranean expansion of the Crown of Aragon regarded involvement in the complex affairs of the Byzantine Empire as the fulfillment of Catalonia's "manifest destiny" in the Mediterranean. The Catalan presence in Byzantium, what contemporaries referred to as Romania, represented not only the spread of military and commercial influence from one end of the sea to the other but, through contact with the imperial purple, confirmed that the interests of the Crown of Aragon had to be taken into account in the shifting balances among the major maritime powers. For the hopeful nationalist generation of the early twentieth century, the satisfying image of Catalan spoken on the Acropolis signalled that the medieval Crown had come of age.<sup>1</sup> The diplomatic and military repercussions from the expedition of the Catalan Company in the early fourteenth century and the subsequent fate of the Catalan Duchies in Latin Greece have attracted most of the scholarly attention. As a result, the presence of the Catalans in the Greek world is usually treated as a curious appendage to crusader history.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For patriotic assessments of Catalan involvement in the Greek East, see Antonio Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català, 1302-1409* (Barcelona, 1947), xliii-xliv; Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, *L'expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrànea oriental*, 3rd ed. (Barcelona, 1974), 45-77; Ferran Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona, 1962), 417-19.

<sup>2</sup> Among the most valuable contributions to the field are Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari* (this splendid source collection, the product of a lifetime of scholarly labor, appeared a decade after his death); Kenneth M. Setton, *The Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), with an excellent annotated bibliography of the older literature; Robert I. Burns, "The Catalan Company and the European

The purpose of the present paper is to reconsider incipient Byzantine-Aragonese relations in light of new sources which have appeared in the past few years, primarily from the archives of Barcelona. They provide a new perspective on the economic and social dimensions of early Catalan expansion in the East, aspects that early studies treated only in passing. Although information about Byzantine relations is far from abundant, the details provided by individual business contracts, notarial materials, and royal accounts help illuminate the better known diplomatic notices, commercial privileges, and narrative sources. While early work on the Catalan Company placed its exploits against a nebulous background of commercial development, the nature and intensity of early Catalan trade with Byzantium and its place within the economy of Barcelona and neighboring cities have received little attention. An older literature consistently and unreflectively attributed the motor of Catalan commerce to the opening of trade routes with the Levant and Byzantium, the much discussed *ruta de especias*; the editors of the earliest surviving commercial contracts of Barcelona still labelled this route the "primordial artery" of exchange despite the evidence from their own collection.<sup>3</sup> In a typically bold but unsubstantiated thesis, Jaume Vicens Vives suggested that trade with the Greek Empire helped energize the early commercial potential of the towns of Catalonia.<sup>4</sup> In recent studies on Catalan commercial expansion, however, the Eastern Mediterranean has been reduced to an ancillary position in relation to the intense exchange with Tunis, Bougie, and Sicily in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Because we now know that early Catalan trade was firmly anchored in the Western Mediterranean, a reevaluation of the contacts with Romania is needed.<sup>5</sup>

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Powers, 1305-1311," *Speculum*, 19 (1954), 751-77 [repr. in *Moors and Crusaders in Mediterranean Spain* (London, 1978)]; Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 127-243.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Madurell i Marimon and A. Garcia i Sanz, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas de la baja edad media* (Barcelona, 1973), 20. On the importance of Eastern Mediterranean trade for Barcelona, see p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Jaume Vicens Vives, *Manual de historia económica de España*, 5th ed. (Barcelona, 1967), 191.

<sup>5</sup> The predominance of North Africa in early Catalan trade has had difficulty gaining acceptance in the literature. See above all Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1966), 110-13, 128-31. Cf. later evaluations, which have had the advantage of drawing on work based upon sources from the cathedral archives of Barcelona that became accessible after Dufourcq's investigations, by Jocelyn Hillgarth, *The Problem of a Catalan Mediterranean Empire, 1229-1327*, supplement to *English Historical Review*, 8 (London, 1975), 39-40



Before the 1260s no clear evidence points to a Catalan presence in the Greek East. Although the cosmopolitan rabbi Benjamin of Tudela testified to the presence of merchants (although not ships) from *Arangon* in Alexandria along with men from Provence and Languedoc as early as the 1160s, there is nothing to indicate that they formed a cohesive trading community in Egypt and the Levant nor that they used this as a base to penetrate into the Greek world.<sup>6</sup> By 1215 a group of Provençals resided in a special quarter in Constantinople, recently brought under Latin rule, but no clear evidence exists to substantiate Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer's optimistic assertion that Catalans were included.<sup>7</sup> The Fourth Crusade had established Venetian commercial hegemony over the Greek world which even its Wercest rival, Genoa, had to acknowledge. A door to this closed world began to open, however, when Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (1258–1282) with Genoese support was on the verge of retaking Constantinople from its Latin masters, whom the Venetians backed with a fleet of warships; as the naval exchanges between Venice and Genoa escalated into their first great conflict, the Genoese fleet was destroyed at Acre in 1258 and its citizens expelled from this crucial hub of Levant trade. This humiliation was soon avenged, however, through the alliance concluded between Genoa and the Greek emperor in the Treaty of Nymphaeus in 1258, which granted the Genoese a monopoly of Black Sea trade and helped ensure the end of Latin rule in Constantinople in 1261.<sup>8</sup> The critical and sudden swing of alliances and naval power in the East allowed Catalans to penetrate the highly protected markets of Byzantium; less than a year before the recovery of Constantinople by Michael VIII, the first extant commercial contract was concluded in Barcelona for a voyage to Romania, and others would follow during the 1260s.<sup>9</sup> Initial contact with Byzantine markets therefore occurred only after Catalans had established a well developed commercial network in North

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and David Abulafia, "Catalan Merchants and the Western Mediterranean, 1236–1300," *Viator*, 16 (1985), 214–26.

<sup>6</sup> *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. M. N. Adler (London, 1907), 2, 76.

<sup>7</sup> Olwer, *L'expansió*, 42.

<sup>8</sup> Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XII<sup>e</sup>–début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Rome, 1978), 1:38–45; Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 81–91.

<sup>9</sup> Madurell and Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, nos. 11, 12; Arxiu Capítular de la Catedral de Barcelona [ACB hereafter] 1–6–485.

Africa, Sicily, and, though to a lesser extent, with Alexandria. *Alfòndecs*, merchant-compounds with warehouses and sometimes churches, already existed in Tunis by 1253 and in Bougie by 1258. According to Dufourcq, these outposts were experiencing an economic boom around 1260. A flourishing trade with Sicily had also been building up from the 1240s, and in 1262 King Jaume I sent the first ambassador to Alexandria to negotiate with the Mamluk sultan Baybars in order to establish an *alfòndec* in the king's name and organize an Egyptian trade that was sporadic but nonetheless of considerable antiquity.<sup>10</sup> Our earliest notices of commercial contacts between subjects of the Crown of Aragon and Byzantium therefore occurred during the first flush of a maturing Catalan trading system centered in the Western Mediterranean and a rapid rearrangement of power in the Greek world. Rather than providing an original impetus for long-distance trade, as Vicens Vives argued, Byzantine contacts formed one of the last pieces to fall into place during the Mediterranean expansion of the Crown of Aragon.

The 1260s marked not only a maturation of Catalan commerce but also its restructuring. As Dufourcq has clearly demonstrated, the king referred to the *alfòndecs* of Tunis and Bougie in proprietary terms (*alfundicum et consulatum nostrum*), farmed the right to manage them to entrepreneurs, and attempted through the foundation of a royal *alfòndec* in Alexandria to create a profitable colonial outpost far to the east.<sup>11</sup> Because the king himself personally traded in North Africa and the consuls of the Catalan *alfòndecs* served the Crown as administrators and financiers, the mixture of commercial, military, and dynastic interests found a natural expression in the royalist trading posts overseas. Yet in 1266 the king granted the municipal council of Barcelona, known as the Consell de Cent, the right to elect consuls with broad jurisdictional powers to supervise Catalan merchants who set sail to Ultramar, that is to Egypt and Syria; two years later he amplified this concession by including the right of the municipal council to

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<sup>10</sup> Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, "Les consulats catalans de Tunis et de Bougie au temps de Jacques le Conquérant," *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 3 (1966), 469–79. A Catalan *alfòndec* already existed in Bougie in 1258, a reference slightly earlier than that found by Dufourcq, ACB 4–10–15. A. Huici Miranda and M. Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1976–), 5: no. 1386; Carme Batlle i Gallart, "Les relacions entre Barcelona i Sicília a la segona meitat del segle XIII," *XI Congresso di storia della Corona d'Aragona* (Palermo, 1983), 2: 149–52.

<sup>11</sup> Dufourcq, "Les consulats," 471–72.

appoint consuls in Romania.<sup>12</sup> Thus, in contrast to the lucrative royal monopoly the Crown exercised over the emporia of Tunis and Bougie, Barcelona's municipal council was in the future supposed to exert control over the Catalan communities in the Levant and Romania.

While the significance of this institutional reorganization has long been recognized, for it in effect turned the Consell de Cent into the Crown's department of commerce for the Eastern Mediterranean, its background has not been fully elucidated. Two factors led to this experiment: the Byzantine emperor's need to counter the Angevin threat to resurrect a Latin state in Constantinople, and King Jaume's desire to finance his long-promised crusade to the Holy Land. After the Genoese had helped Michael Palaeologus reclaim his capital in 1261, the emperor quickly realized that he had to strike a delicate balance among the competing Italian interests lest he become completely constrained by the force of his Ligurian ally. Through an intricate set of diplomatic maneuvers, Emperor Michael did for a time manage to pit Genoa against Venice successfully. Byzantine plans, however, were dashed in February 1266, when Charles of Anjou defeated Manfred, king of Sicily, at Benevento and began to build a formidable coalition to restore the Latin Empire in the East. Michael VIII therefore began to look for new allies among the Latins. While restoring Genoa's privileges at Constantinople and in the Black Sea, negotiations may well have already begun to enlist the support of the Crown of Aragon, the successor of Hohenstaufen claims to Sicily.<sup>13</sup> The Byzantine emperor and Abaqa, the Mongol ruler of Persia, sent ambassadors to King Jaume at Valencia in 1269 in order to offer aid for his crusade to the Holy Land.<sup>14</sup> The culmination of his life's work of conquest, the crusade required substantial resources and Byzantine aid, both of which caused the aging king to reassess his involvement with Catalan outposts in the East. In the summer of 1266 Barcelona offered the king an extraordinary aid of 60,000 sous, and a further 80,000 sous in 1269, both accompanied by royal

<sup>12</sup> Antonio de Capmany y de Monpalau, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona, 1961–1963), 2:nos. 19, 23.

<sup>13</sup> Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 1:48–51; Geanakoplos, *Michael Palaeologus*, 189–200.

<sup>14</sup> Jaume I, *Llibre dels feits*, chap. 481 in *Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. F. Soldevila (Barcelona, 1971), 168. On the role of the crusade at the end of Jaume's reign, see Francesc Carreras Candi, "La croada a Terra Santa," *Congrès d'història de la Corona d'Aragó* (Barcelona, 1911), 1:106–8 and Ferran Soldevila, *Jaume I i Pere el Gran* (Barcelona, 1955), 42–44.

promises of future tax exemptions and favors.<sup>15</sup> The willingness of the city council to loosen its purse strings lay behind the Crown's transfer of jurisdiction over the potentially lucrative trading posts in the Levant and Byzantium as Jaume mounted his crusade.

Although the charter of 1268 grants the municipality the right to elect consuls over Catalan commercial outposts east of Sicily, Capmany, Heyd, and others following them have doubted that a Catalan consul existed in Byzantium before 1293, when an official with that title appears in a document sent to Emperor Andronicus II (1282–1328). Yet an overlooked charter in Barcelona's cathedral archives clearly demonstrates that a resident consul had been established a generation earlier.<sup>16</sup> In August 1281, Bartomeu Romeu and Bonat Barraler, representatives elected by the merchants of Barcelona, appointed Pere Ris of Barcelona to the post of consul in Constantinople and charged him with the obligation of supervising the activities of "all the men from the land of the king sailing to and residing in (*navigantes et existentes*) in that region," which implies the presence of a Catalan community at Constantinople. Below the notarized letter of appointment appears the copy of a royal diploma, issued at Valencia in 1279, authorizing the merchant community of Barcelona to elect two of its members to "supervise, administer, and do everything required for the common good of each and every member of the community in promoting commerce truly and faithfully without any diminution of our rights." While the royal privilege has long been known, little information has come to light about the precise powers granted the representatives of the merchant community. As the selection of Pere Ris in 1281 demonstrates, however, merchant representatives quickly sought to take advantage of the new privilege the king had granted them by appointing a consul in Constantinople; with royal assent the body of merchants had therefore usurped this right from the municipality.

This institutional innovation and the need to include a copy of the royal diploma issued two years earlier suggest that the consulate was of recent origin, for the charter, the first extant "letter of appointment" for a Catalan consul in Constantinople, must have served as

<sup>15</sup> Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó [ACA hereafter] Canc., reg. 14, fol. 82v.; reg. 16, fol. 159v.

<sup>16</sup> Appendix, no. 1. Two *comanda* contracts relating to the voyage, made within a week after the appointment of Pere Ris as consul, also survive, Madurell and Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, nos. 47, 48.

a letter of credentials for the subjects of the Crown of Aragon trading in Romania. In Egypt as well as Byzantium, the establishment of permanent trading communities and their control proved difficult. While consuls served as leaders of individual trading expeditions, in 1262 and 1264 King Jaume I empowered his ambassadors in Alexandria to establish a consul over the *alfóndec* there and treat it as a source of profit for the dynasty. Even though Barcelona's municipal council received the right to appoint consuls in Alexandria and Syria, the municipality's prerogatives were at times overridden by the intervention of the king.<sup>17</sup> Because trading contacts with Romania may not have been intense enough for the municipality to have established a resident consul, the king took the initiative to regularize relations and intervene forcefully by allowing the merchants to organize the trading community in Constantinople for as long as it pleased him. The inclusion of an intriguing third section in the charter also supports the exceptional nature of the charge. Written in Catalan, unlike the rest of the document, the final section contains regulations (*ordenaments*) concerning the exercise of authority aboard ship and the proper chain of command in the event that several ships arrive in a foreign port at the same time. Reminiscent of the final clause in the Regulations of the Ribera of Barcelona in 1258, an early source for the famous compilation of maritime law, the *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, this additional *ordenament* carried by the Catalan consul to Constantinople reveals a system of maritime custom in rapid evolution.<sup>18</sup> A provision in this section of the charter commands consuls to write down any crimes committed by a member of the community overseas and collect testimony in order that the case might be tried in Barcelona. The *ordenament*, in fact the earliest fragment of maritime law in Catalan, thus provides indirect evidence that a merchants' court, the Consolat de Mar, was already in operation at Barcelona.

The establishment of a permanent Catalan consul at Constantinople in 1281 must be seen as part of the intensified diplomatic efforts on the eve of the Sicilian Vespers. Although a lively scholarly dispute has long existed as to whether a formal Byzantine-Aragonese alliance

<sup>17</sup> On the question of control over the consulates, see A. B. Hibbert, "Thirteenth-century Catalan Consulates," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 9 (1949), 352-58.

<sup>18</sup> The *Ordenacions de la Ribera* are most easily consulted in Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2:no. 14.

was concluded before the Sicilian campaign, the appointment of Pere Ris as Catalan consul in Romania in 1281 not only argues for an accord between Pere III of Aragon and Michael Palaeologus but suggests that it may have contained advantageous terms for Catalan trade in the Byzantine world.<sup>19</sup> A Byzantine-Aragonese alignment provided a natural counterweight to the papal-Angevin ambitions to recover Byzantium and maintain control of Sicily. This may have encouraged King Pere to seek a new institutional means of establishing a Catalan consul in Constantinople, who, according to his commission, should "look after the honor of the king of Aragon and his men." In addition to the royalist tenor of the document, Catalan commerce with Constantinople seems particularly intense at the time, at least to judge from a number of commercial contracts clustered around 1280, including one mentioning the export of twenty-five iron-tipped lances from Barcelona.<sup>20</sup> Under the mounting pressure of Mediterranean-wide coalitions that would lead to the Sicilian Vespers, Aragonese diplomacy and Catalan commercial interests fused in the early 1280s to open up the Greek East as never before. The long period of Aragonese-Angevin rivalry that would stretch from the Sicilian adventure in 1282 to the Treaty of Caltabellotta in 1302 not only relieved Latin pressure on Byzantium but allowed Catalans greater access to Greek markets.

But the Catalan presence in Byzantium was far from secure. Part of the advantage enjoyed by merchants and ships arriving from the Crown of Aragon derived from their small numbers; for Emperor Andronicus II, the Catalans at first presented few problems in comparison to the Venetians and Genoese. By playing off the two great maritime powers of Italy, the Byzantine emperors had traditionally hoped to retain control over their rump empire. After the menace posed by Charles of Anjou, supported by Venice, had been checked by the Sicilian Vespers, Andronicus II threw his weight squarely behind the Genoese. Although the Byzantines needed the support of the Crown of Aragon to neutralize the Angevins, the Genoese found the

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<sup>19</sup> For the outlines of the debate, see Geanakoplos, *Michael Palaeologus*, 344–51, who argues strongly for the existence of a formal pact, including monetary support sent to Sicilian conspirators by the Greek emperor; and Robert Lopez, *Genova marinara nel duecento*, Benedetto Zaccaria (Messina and Milan, 1933), 69–93, 256–57, and Hillgarth, *The Problem*, 23–24, who doubt its existence.

<sup>20</sup> Madurell and Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, nos. 44, 45, 47, 48; ACB 1–6–182, 842, 2537, 3014, 3543; Appendix, no. 3.

Catalan presence irritating, if not always threatening, but wished to avoid unrelieved hostility since this could threaten their access to Sicilian grain. A tense peace followed between Catalans and Genoese in Romania, broken by intermittent acts of piracy. Toward the end of Michael VIII's reign the Byzantine historian Pachymeres tells of a Catalan vessel literally taking the wind out of the sails of a Genoese pirate ship through a daring maneuver, which then allowed the smaller Greek ships following the marauder to attack. Yet later the Genoese had the advantage, for five of their galleys seized a Catalan vessel in 1289 off the coast of Asia Minor near Ania, a redoubt of Ligurian privateers.<sup>21</sup> In the closing decade of the thirteenth century, competition among the Latin powers for access to Byzantine markets increased and Emperor Andronicus II, who had dismantled his fleet, watched helplessly as a colonial war broke out for control of Greek trade and access to the Black Sea markets.

While the second contest between the Genoese and Venetians, known as the War of Curzola, dominated the affairs of the Eastern Mediterranean from 1293 to 1299, the Catalans too had their role. One of the first incidents revealing the explosive volatility in the region occurred in 1292. Claiming that the emperor had failed to pay a promised subsidy, Roger de Loria, admiral for King Frederick II of Sicily, attacked Lesbos, Morea, and Chios, the latter of vital interest to Genoa for its access to alum, a mordant essential for finishing cloth, produced in the mines of Phocaea. In retaliation, Andronicus II seized the assets of several Barcelona merchants resident in Constantinople, valued at over 2,891 ounces of gold.<sup>22</sup> The incident reveals a tension between the military and commercial motivations for expansion. To compensate for the losses, King Jaume II insisted that Roger de Loria reimburse the Barcelona merchants from the proceeds of his raids, particularly from the mastic seized at Chios. The affair highlighted just how unstable the balance was between the unreliable Aragonese naval power that the Byzantines had enlisted and the calm needed for Catalan merchants to do business in Constantinople. Jaume II claimed that he in fact did not control Roger de

<sup>21</sup> Appendix, no. 2. On the unsavory reputation of the Genoese at Ania in the late thirteenth century, see Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 2:591.

<sup>22</sup> Heinrich Finke, *Acta aragonensia* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1908), 2:no. 458; Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. 117 in *Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. F. Soldevila (Barcelona, 1971), 774–75; Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari*, no. 11, n. 2. For the date of the raid and its background, see Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 46–47.

Loria, just as the king would later deny that he had control over the activities of the Catalan Company. Just before the Venetian fleet burned down Pera, the Genoese colony below the walls of Constantinople, in July 1296, the emperor offered the Catalans trading in Romania a tariff reduction from four to three percent as an incentive and promised that they "shall suffer no harm, injury, or rapine . . . while in our empire."<sup>23</sup> In contrast to a later privilege of 1315, which reduced tariffs to two percent, the same rate enjoyed by the main Italian traders, the chrysobull of 1296 was addressed not to the king of Aragon and his subjects but to the merchants of the Crown in the Greek East; the emperor dealt with the Catalan community as an independent enclave rather than as a group under the command of the Aragonese monarchy. Resident merchants must have found this distancing reassuring when in the following year King Jaume, hard pressed for money, sought a loan from the emperor, possibly the price of his anti-Angevin support. The merchant community in Romania thus felt best served in the contentious waters of the Aegean by seeking to promote their interests in a manner that had little to do with the interests of the Crown.

The wisdom of such a policy, and its ultimate failure, made itself apparent in 1302. While Andronicus II was in the process of negotiating with Roger de Flor for the services of the Catalan Company in Asia Minor, with its disastrous consequences for the Byzantines, the magistrates of Barcelona sent letters of introduction on behalf of local merchants addressed to the Genoese *podestà* in Constantinople.<sup>24</sup> This direct intervention with a foreign power in Romania caused Capmany to propose that the Catalans did not maintain a permanent consulate in the Greek Empire. Yet the magistrates were in fact reasserting their rights to represent Catalan interests according to the terms of the grant in 1268, a prerogative usurped by consuls chosen according to the terms of the royal privilege of 1279. The members of the merchant community found it best to allow the Consell de Cent, not the king, to press for advantages in Romania and to deal directly with the leader of the most powerful trading community, the Genoese, rather than with the emperor. The leaders of the

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<sup>23</sup> Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2:no. 45. For the proper dating, however, see Constantin Marinesco, "Notes sur les Catalans dans l'empire byzantin pendant le règne de Jacques II (1291-1327)," *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot* (Paris, 1925), 505-6.

<sup>24</sup> Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2:no. 257.



Catalan commercial community hoped to carry on their business without being drawn into the whirlpool of dynastic ambitions and mercenary raiding in the East. Although this strategy helps explain the implied reorganization of the Catalan merchant community in Constantinople in 1302, the appearance of Roger de Flor with his *almogàvers* and the resentment they produced among the Greeks undermined any attempt to promote the independence of Catalan traders in Byzantium.

The late development of Byzantine contacts and the inherent dangers of doing business in the highly contested waters of the Aegean gave trade with the Greek East its peculiar features within the Catalan commercial community. By the time that ships from the Crown of Aragon were sailing to Romania with some frequency in the 1260s, merchants and entrepreneurs from Barcelona, Tortosa, Tarragona, Lleida, and Majorca had already developed regular, highly complex networks of exchange with Sicily and North Africa; the latter in particular served as a commercial clearing house for the distribution of spices and luxury goods from the Levant, the gold and slaves arriving on caravans from sub-Saharan Africa, and the cloth and grain available in the Western Mediterranean. These markets early on provided the principal overseas trading outlets for Catalonia. From 1250 to 1290 surviving commercial contracts from Barcelona record sixty-seven overseas voyages, of which eleven involved ships sailing to Romania and only nine to Egypt and the Levant; North Africa and Sicily, on the other hand, involved twenty-nine ships. The preponderance of Western Mediterranean trade in the first surge of commercial expansion receives further confirmation from the tolls collected at Barcelona. In 1248 and 1249 the tolls for trade with the "Saracen shore" (i.e. North Africa and al-Andalus) were farmed to a local entrepreneur for 6,130 sous; since the total commercial tolls were valued at 9,400 sous in 1253, Muslim trade in the Western Mediterranean made up roughly two-thirds of Barcelona's maritime commerce in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Far from providing the main axis of exchange, the *ruta de especias* to Egypt, the Levant, and Romania in fact represented an exotic appendage to the evolving commercial and military involvement of Catalans with the Hafsids

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<sup>25</sup> ACA Canc., pergamins Jaume I, nos. 1120, 1332, 1336. The figure of 9,400 sous for the "leuda et quintalis" in 1253 is consistent with the amounts received for the farm of the commercial tolls between 1258 and 1262, ACA Canc., pergamins extrainventaris Jaume I, no. 28 and pergamins Jaume I, nos. 1615, 1682.

emirs in Ifrīqiya and the Hohenstaufen and Angevin kings of Sicily.

During the 1260s, however, new tensions threatened the prosperity of these established routes. A brief maritime conflict flared up with Tunis in 1264, leading to raids and privateering on the North African coast and a significant decrease in revenues from the Catalan consulates in Tunis and Bougie. As late as 1268 King Jaume I was still prohibiting trade with Tunis.<sup>26</sup> Sicilian trade also suffered after Charles of Anjou ascended the throne of the island kingdom in 1266. Merchants subject to the House of Barcelona, which had inherited Hohenstaufen claims, could not expect favorable treatment from the Angevins in the island's closely supervised grain markets. Although there is evidence of some Catalan-Sicilian trade for several years after Charles began his reign, it disappears from the sources in 1272, "époque du durcissement angevin" according to Cuvillier, until the Sicilian Vespers in 1282.<sup>27</sup> Thus, after establishing themselves on the main circuits of Western Mediterranean trade, Catalan merchants encountered a series of disruptions to their accustomed activities for a generation after 1260. Buffeted by the increased political and commercial competition in the Western Mediterranean, they began to look to the Eastern Mediterranean for new opportunities in the last third of the thirteenth century.

Whether sailing to Romania or Ultramar, Catalans sought direct access to the spices and luxury goods available from China, Persia,

<sup>26</sup> Some light is cast on this obscure conflict, known through privateering licenses granted by the king, by Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane*, 114–17 and Robert I. Burns, "Piracy: Islamic-Christian Interface in Conquered Valencia," *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge, 1984), 113–14. The value of the *alfondec* in Tunis fell from 2,750 besants in 1261–1262 to 600 besants in 1266 and 800 besants for the next five years; Louis de Mas-Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce concernant les relations des chrétiens avec l'Afrique septentrionale au moyen âge* (Paris, 1866), 36–38; ACA Canc., reg. 13, fol. 291r.; reg. 15, fols. 43v.–44r. On the continuing trade prohibition with Tunis, Huici and Cabanes, *Documentos*, 5: no. 1554.

<sup>27</sup> Jean-Pierre Cuvillier, "Barcelona, Gênes, et le commerce du blé de Sicile vers le milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Atti del I<sup>o</sup> congresso storico Liguria-Catalogna* (Bordighera, 1974), 165, n. 1. The last Barcelona commercial contract involving Sicily before 1282 is now printed in Madurell and Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, no. 37. Batlle i Gallart, "Les relacions entre Barcelona i Sicília," 166–69, app. 3, transcribes a will made by a Catalan at Messina in 1280. Several Catalans also attest to the document; two had become citizens of Messina and the others appear to be immigrants. News of the testator's death, however, did not reach Barcelona, where he still held property, until 1282. This delay suggests anything but close communication between Sicily and Catalonia at the time. The Catalan immigrants appear to have been rapidly absorbed in Sicilian society rather than to have formed a coherent trading community.

and the Near East. The great trading emporia at Constantinople, Alexandria, Acre, and (after Acre's fall in 1291) Famagusta offered a comparable array of merchandise; the desirability of visiting one port rather than another therefore depended on a complex evaluation of price differentials, tariff costs, and political conditions. Catalan commercial penetration into the Eastern Mediterranean therefore appears tentative and dispersed; merchants from the Crown were testing the waters in different markets in the thirteenth century rather than concentrating on Alexandria and Rhodes as they would in the fifteenth.<sup>28</sup>

Spices at first provided the most attractive merchandise drawing Catalans to Romania, which had recently become a terminus for the trade routes with China and Central Asia as a result of the connections created by the Mongol imperium. In one of the earliest documents referring to Byzantine trade, Bernat Cantull and Guillem Bos in 1262 returned to investors in Barcelona a cargo of pepper worth 676 lbs. in the coinage of Barcelona, ginger worth 104 lbs., cinnamon worth 22 lbs., and 14 lbs. in cash.<sup>29</sup> Several commercial contracts specify that their investments should be used to purchase wax in Romania, a product which had acquired a particularly high reputation for its quality from Black Sea sources; in an unusually large investment the widow Maria deposited 75 lbs. with her son Felipe de Bosc, who was instructed to invest two-thirds of his profits in wax and one-third in mastic, an aromatic resin which was a speciality of Chios.<sup>30</sup> The frequency with which investors specified the acquisition of specific goods in Romania, a relatively rare clause in commercial *comanda* contracts, indicates that the markets of the Greek East were slowly acquiring a specialized place in Catalan trade. Expensive luxury goods and Byzantine fineries rather than bulk products first drew the attention of merchants toward Constantinople. On one of the early voyages a merchant with a taste for the exotic probably brought back to Barcelona one of the few Byzantine artifacts in the city today, an intricately carved sixth-century capital from the church of St. Polyeuktos at Saraçhane (already in ruins by 1200) now on display

<sup>28</sup> Seventy-three percent of Catalan ships bound for the Eastern Mediterranean from 1390 to 1493 made Rhodes and Alexandria their destination, Mario del Treppo, *Els mercaders catalans i l'expansió de la Corona catalano-aragonesa al segle XV*, trans. J. Riera i Sans (Barcelona, 1976), 59.

<sup>29</sup> ACB 1-6-485.

<sup>30</sup> Madurell and García, *Comandas comerciales*, nos. 44, 48; ACB 1-6-3014. On the principal products available in Romania from the thirteenth century and later, see Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 2:717-85.

at Barcelona's archaeological museum, where it is handsomely crowned with a potted plant.<sup>31</sup>

To obtain spices, wax, and mastic in Greek markets, merchants from the Crown of Aragon brought with them northern woolens, skins, olive oil, and paper. By far the largest recorded investments involved eighteen pieces of cloth of Châlons-sur-Marne and three Iberian woolens (*barragans*) shipped to the East; this followed a typical thirteenth-century pattern of exporting valuable northern cloth to fuel long-distance trade in the absence of a substantial textile industry in Barcelona.<sup>32</sup> Yet in addition to the large sums invested in foreign woolens, a staple of Latin trade with the East, relatively small consignments of wolf, fox, rabbit skins, and armaments point to more specialized Catalan exports that helped merchants from the Crown of Aragon enter the competitive markets of Romania. The processing and exportation of furs and pelts formed an integral part of Barcelona's expanding economy during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, providing valuable export materials to compensate for the lack of a local textile industry. From 1140 to 1220, tanners and furriers (*pelliparii*) proved the fastest growing segment of craftsmen; many of this art's most successful practitioners came to invest their products and capital in overseas trade.<sup>33</sup> In 1280 and again in 1281 Maria, widow of the *pelliparius* Pere de Malla, consigned merchandise, including skins, to her sons on their voyages to Romania; from other investors, who included two tanners, they also carried ten wolf-skin coats (*garnatxes*), thirteen rabbit-skin tunics (*cots*), and wolf and fox furs.<sup>34</sup> In addition to responding to a demand for furs, Catalan merchants found arms a popular item in the Byzantine world, which had evidently come to respect the military prowess of the Catalans long before the arrival of the Catalan Company. In 1278 Arnau de Sala, a shoemaker, invested 100 sous in a shipment of twenty-five iron-tipped lances to the Greeks and in 1299 Bonanat de Bosquerons, a bit-maker (*frenarius*), brought cuirasses with him to

<sup>31</sup> R. Martin Harrison, "A Constantinopolitan Capital in Barcelona," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 27 (1973), 297–300. The capital was housed in the old medieval parish church of Sant Miquel until it was moved to its current location in 1936.

<sup>32</sup> Madurell and Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, nos. 47, 48; cf. nos. 11, 12.

<sup>33</sup> Stephen P. Bensch, *Barcelona and its Rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge, 1994), 188–91.

<sup>34</sup> Madurell and Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, nos. 44, 47, ACB 1–6–842, 3014, 4014.

sell.<sup>35</sup> Neither furs nor arms (which popes technically forbade exporting to the infidel, but often to no effect) figured prominently in the early trade with the Levant. Through these specialities, Catalan merchants found a niche for themselves in the Greek world, yet, like the Italians, they also exported large quantities of northern woollens to their trading outposts in Byzantium.

Because of the difficulties in establishing commercial relations in an area so heavily dominated by the Genoese, Byzantine trade did not attain sufficient volume to create a Catalan merchant elite in the late thirteenth century. The individuals most heavily involved in Romania, as far as they can be identified, did not come from the most affluent entrepreneurial families. The wills of Pere de Bosc (d. 1282), Pere Cantull (d. 1280), and Pere de Malla (d. 1277), all pioneers in early Byzantine trade (or in the case of Pere de Malla his widow and sons), reveal men with substantial but not exceptional resources.<sup>36</sup> Profits from the risky but lucrative trade with the Greek world could, however, add to other commercial ventures to allow for social mobility. Bernat Cantull, for instance, possessed a share of the ship owned by Ramon Marquet, who would later serve as admiral of the royal fleet defending Catalonia from the French invasion of 1285; Pere de Malla had sufficient resources to grant each of his three daughter 550 to 600 gold morabetins in dowry, a substantial sum able to ensure a prestigious match. Especially after the difficulties experienced by Catalan merchants in the traditional markets of the Western Mediterranean in the 1260s, Romania offered a new and, potentially at least, unusually lucrative field of commercial activity to supplement other opportunities. Significantly, those families directing their ships and resources to Romania had commercial interests throughout the Mediterranean and were daring enough to enter the door left ajar by the new political forces reshaping Byzantium and the Levant in the late thirteenth century. Pere Ris, the first known Catalan consul in Constantinople, typifies the potential advantages of looking eastward. From an obscure family, Pere Ris moved in the

<sup>35</sup> Madurell and Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, no. 69; Appendix, no. 3.

<sup>36</sup> ACB 4-3-209, 4-15-13, 180. For more details on the de Malla family, see Carme Batlle i Gallart, "La vida y las actividades de los mercaderes de Barcelona dedicados al comercio marítimo (siglo XIII)," *Le genti del mare mediterraneo*, ed. R. Ragosta (Naples, 1981), 334-35. Abulafia, "Catalan Merchants," 221 also characterizes these families as wishing to acquire a "place in the ranks of the Barcelona 'upper-middle' class."

circle of the de Malla and de Bosc, with whom he invested in trade with Genoa.<sup>37</sup> Although clearly not from one of Barcelona's great trading families, he nevertheless recognized opportunity in new areas when it beckoned: together with Pere de Bosc, he appears among the purveyors of grain to King Jaume's abandoned crusading army in the Holy Land in 1269.<sup>38</sup> Thus, rather than reinforcing the position of Barcelona's patrician and entrepreneurial houses, early trade with Romania and with the Eastern Mediterranean generally offered a means of ascent for individuals daring or desperate enough to risk their lives and resources in an area that was just opening up to the subjects of the Crown of Aragon.

Yet trade with the core of the Byzantine Empire did not fulfill its potential. Forced to submit to Genoese hegemony in the Black Sea, threatened by piracy and instability produced by the War of Curzola, and compromised by reprisals provoked by the privateering raids of Roger de Loria, ships from Catalonia by the late thirteenth century turned further south, toward Alexandria and the rim of the Greek world at Cyprus and Crete, which Catalans frequented as early as 1280.<sup>39</sup> A remarkable series of private contracts and royal accounts provides a wealth of information about this trade in 1299 and 1300. The fragmentary remains of one of Barcelona's earliest extant notarial registers contains details about a convoy of five ships departing for Candia in Crete and Cyprus in late September 1299.<sup>40</sup> Members from some of Barcelona's leading commercial families operated the ships: Eimeric Dusay, a prominent merchant-banker; Pere d'Olivera, whom the king designated royal ambassador to Ghazan Khan, the ruler of Persia, in May 1300; and Bernat d'Olm, from an established Barcelona family.<sup>41</sup> The large amounts involved in the expedition

<sup>37</sup> ACB 1-6-2955, 4014.

<sup>38</sup> ACA Canc., reg. 17, fols. 142r.-143r., transcribed in Carreras Candi, "La croada," 136.

<sup>39</sup> ACB 4-39-475, which records the appointment of a procurator in Candia by Bernat de Pelaya and his wife Guillema to attend to a pious bequest from their property in Barcelona.

<sup>40</sup> The register contains twenty-seven contracts dealing with the voyage; Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona [AHPB hereafter], Not. 3, Pere Portell, fols. 5v., 7v., 9v.-13v. Nine are transcribed in Madurell and García, *Comandas comerciales*, nos. 62-70.

<sup>41</sup> On the growing importance of merchant-bankers in Barcelona's trade, see Stephen P. Bensch, "La primera crisis bancaria de Barcelona," *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 19 (1989), 317-18. For Pere d'Olivera, Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2: no. 60. Less is known about the other two shipowners, Guerau de Trileá and Pere Llorenç.

and its eventual destination appear more clearly in early records from Catalonia's central fiscal officer, the *Mestre Racional*, who took care to levy fines on the prohibited trade with Egypt. The ships captained by Pere d'Olivera, Eimeric Dusay, and Pere Llorenç surface in the royal accounts of the *Mestre Racional*, which show that they piloted their vessels from Alexandria to Candia and then back to Alexandria before returning home.<sup>42</sup> Candia and Cyprus formed important relay stations on the trade routes with Egypt, compensating in part for the difficulty Catalans encountered in establishing a firm footing in Romania. Candia had long served Venice as a colonial commercial hub, linking communications with Constantinople, Alexandria, and the Levant, and Cyprus provided a similar link for the Genoese and other Latins after the fall of Acre in 1291, the same year in which subjects of the Crown of Aragon received trading privileges on the island. Candia in particular provided a backdoor to Byzantium, while Famagusta also provided a link to trade with the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, where Barcelona merchants were active as early as 1274.<sup>43</sup> In 1301 Jaume de Sena, a Barcelona resident, received a consignment of Armenian cotton at Famagusta from Pere Seu of Barcelona to sell after the return voyage on the ship of Bernat Marquet, and Borràs of Barcelona in the same year made payment to a Constantinopolitan merchant for goods he received there.<sup>44</sup> The volume of trade circulating in the waters separating Candia, Famagusta, and

<sup>42</sup> ACA Reial Patrimoni, reg. 264, fols. 1r.-7r.; the phrase "per altre viatge que feren dalexandria en Candia et tornan en Alexandria" appears throughout the accounts. One of the *comanda* contracts made in Barcelona in September 1299 refers to the cost of trading with Alexandria in a matter-of-fact manner; Madurell and Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, no. 67: "mundis et quitius de duana et aliis juribus Alexandrie."

<sup>43</sup> Salvano Borsari, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1963); Angeliki E. Laiou, "Quelques observations sur l'économie et la société de Crète vénitienne (ca. 1270-ca. 1305)," *Bisanzio e l'Italia: raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milan, 1982), 177-98 [repr. in *Gender, Society, and Economic Life in Byzantium* (London, 1992)]. On the growing importance of Cyprus as a relay station for prohibited Egyptian trade, see Jean Richard, "Le royaume de Chypre et l'embargo sur le commerce avec l'Égypte (fin XIII<sup>e</sup>-début XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)," *Compte-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1984), 120-34. On the presence of Barcelona merchants, including Pere Mallol and Pere Ramon de Palau, at Lajazzo in Lesser Armenia, see *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Laiazzo da Federico di Piazzalinga (1274) e Pietro di Bargone (1277, 1279)*, ed. L. Balletto (Genoa, 1989), nos. 35, 41. For the diplomatic relations of the Crown of Aragon with Cyprus and Armenia, see Francesco Giunta, *Aragonesi e catalani nel Mediterraneo* (Palermo, 1956-1959), 2:78-79, 81-85.

<sup>44</sup> *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300-3 agosto 1301)*, ed. V. Polonio (Genoa, 1981), no. 257; *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti*

Alexandria had reached considerable proportions by 1300. In that year alone the prohibited trade with Egypt brought in 40,785 sous, roughly a tenth of the revenues for the entire Crown of Aragon at the time. With fines levied at the rate of 2 sous per lb., the volume of prohibited trade with Alexandria must have been in excess of 400,000 sous that year; the ship of Pere d'Olivera alone carried merchandise worth 137,910 sous.<sup>45</sup> When taken together with the licit trade with Crete and Cyprus, Catalan commerce between the southern edge of the Greek world and Egypt assumed a new importance around 1300. As a result, direct trade with Byzantium, which seemed to hold out such promise in the second half of the thirteenth century, evolved into a minor offshoot of a thriving exchange network with Egypt and the islands on the periphery of Romania.<sup>46</sup>

With several points of contact along the edge of the Byzantine commercial sphere, however, merchants from the Crown of Aragon managed to retain an oblique access to Greek markets. This served them particularly well once the Catalan Company provoked the rage of the Greeks against all the subjects of the Crown of Aragon. Summoned in 1302 from Sicily by the Emperor Andronicus II to fight as mercenaries against the Turks in Asia Minor, the rugged troops under the command of Roger de Flor and Berenguer d'Entença had turned against their Byzantine master by 1305. The assassination of Roger de Flor at a state banquet in April of that year unleashed the punitive expedition known as the Catalan Vengeance against the emperor; while Catalan merchants in Constantinople had no direct involvement with the mercenary army, mounting anti-Catalan sentiment in the capital caused them in 1305 to join their countrymen at their base in Gallipoli in order to attack the empire. Although by 1311 the Catalan Company had moved away from the center of the empire to establish themselves in Athens and Thebes, disrupted Byzantine-Aragonese trading contacts proved difficult to mend. Only in 1315 did new negotiations lead to the grant of a chrysobull in which

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*rogati a Cipro de Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 luglio-27 ottobre 1301)*, ed. R. Pavoni (Genoa, 1982), no. 74.

<sup>45</sup> The total of 40,785 sous is higher than the amount collected in most years for which we have records between 1305 and 1327; Giunta, *Aragonesi e catalani*, 2:119. On the prohibited trade with Egypt, see also José Trenchs i Odina, "'De Alexandrinis' (El comercio prohibido con los musulmanes y el Papado de Aviñón durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV)," *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 10 (1980), 237-321.

<sup>46</sup> For its dimensions in the fifteenth century, del Treppo, *Els mercaders*, 56-59; Claude Carrère, *Barcelone, centre économique, 1380-1462* (Paris, 1967), 2:643-44.



Andronicus II reduced the tariff levied on Catalan and Aragonese merchandise to 2 percent on both imports and exports. Because the chrysobull does not reiterate the terms of the privilege granted in 1296, a typical diplomatic characteristic in the renewal of trading privileges, the earlier privilege appears to have lapsed.<sup>47</sup> With the new privilege and the reestablishment of friendly relations between Jaume II and Andronicus II, however, Catalan ships quickly attempted to stage a comeback.

The resumption of direct trading contacts with Constantinople was anxiously awaited by Barcelona investors, who rapidly provided substantial sums for trade and procured their largest ships to penetrate the Byzantine market. Records survive of two voyages from Barcelona in 1316, the first departing in June and the second in September. Owing to the survival of twenty commercial contracts (*comandas*) for the first of the two ships in an early notarial register, it is possible to look into the nature of revived Byzantine trade and have some sense of the enthusiasm with which the city's entrepreneurs greeted this new opportunity. The directors of the voyage made plans far in advance. On February 26, 1316, during the winter lull in long-distance shipping, Arnau de Cornellà and Guillem de Costabella of Barcelona entered into a commercial society with two co-citizens, Bernat Maçana and Bernat de Malví, to prepare their two-masted *cocha*, named the Bona Ventura which was at the time in use at Majorca, for a voyage to Romania with 1,200 lbs.<sup>48</sup> The employment of a *cocha*, a stout roundship, indicates the importance of the voyage, for Catalans began using these large, square-sailed transport ships only a few years earlier.<sup>49</sup> The bulk of the ship perfectly suited the nature of trade. The individual investments recorded in the twenty *comanda* contracts, all but three accepted by the shipowners themselves, total 15,978 sous 11 diners and averaged 798.9 sous; these

<sup>47</sup> The chrysobull is printed in Greek in Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari*, no. 115, and with a Latin translation in Capmany, *Memorias*, 2:468–71. These editions give 1320 as the date, but Franz Dölger, "Die Urkunden des byzantinischen Kaisers Andonikos II für Aragon-Katalonien unter die Regierung Königs Jakobs II," *Estudis universitaris catalans*, 18 (1933), 300–7 [repr. in *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Speyer, 1953), 134–37] has clearly proven that the correct date is 1315. Both Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 278, and Dölger, *Byzanz*, 134 accept that the privilege of 1296 had lapsed; Marinesco, "Notes sur les Catalans," 502 does not.

<sup>48</sup> AHPB, Not. 5–2, Pere de Torre, fols. 27r.–28v.

<sup>49</sup> Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane*, 40, n. 8 indicates the presence of a Catalan *cocha* in 1309.

are substantial sums, considerably larger than those recorded for Byzantine trade in the late thirteenth century, which had emphasized luxury goods. Investors included some of the most dynamic figures among Barcelona's entrepreneurs and merchants: Jaume d'Oliver, whose family figured prominently in the Levant trade; Simó Dusay and Guillem Fiveller, wealthy merchant-bankers; A. de Vilano, a successful apothecary; and Sança de Banyeres, member of an established patrician house.<sup>50</sup> The voyage therefore drew the attention of established families which could afford to sink large sums in a risky venture but with the potential of high profits. While the *comanda* contracts make some mention of the export of small quantities of paper, light cloth, and saffron, most investors placed their money in olive oil and stipulated that they should receive alum and wax from the return voyage. In one of the largest *comanda* contracts, Jaume d'Oliver shipped 60 jars of olive oil containing 724 *quarterii*, worth 85 lbs. 8 sous 6 diners, to Romania in order to obtain alum and wax.<sup>51</sup> The emphasis on trade in bulk products, facilitated by the employment of the *cocha*, demonstrates that Catalans hoped to make a quick advance into the Greek market with their large ships and heavy capital outlays; nine of the commercial contracts specify that olive oil was to be shipped in large quantities, totalling 302 jars in the surviving contracts. Like the Genoese, the Catalans rapidly deployed their resources to create a commerce based on the exchange of bulk merchandise with Romania; this reveals just how anxious they were to reestablish a presence in Constantinople.<sup>52</sup> With the dispatch of an "oil tanker" to the Greek East in 1316, Barcelona entrepreneurs hoped to make up the ground they had lost as a result of the recklessness of the Catalan Company.

Yet the second ship known to have set out from Barcelona for Constantinople in 1316 also had an objective besides trade. A commercial *comanda* contract records that Bonanat Reig, Guillem Bartomeu, Tomàs Despuig, Arnau de Mora, and Guillem de Riera had received 25 lbs. in merchandise from Jaume Abril, a Barcelona banker, for the voyage, which bears the same characteristics as that organized in June. Yet Bonanat Reig had also received a commis-

<sup>50</sup> The contracts are found in AHPB, Not. 5-2, Pere de Torre, fols. 103v., 106r.-v., 108v., 109v., 110v., 114v., 115v., 117v.

<sup>51</sup> Appendix, no. 4.

<sup>52</sup> During the early fourteenth century the Genoese began to use *cochas* extensively to import alum from Phocaea, Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 2:556-57, 769-78.

sion from King Jaume II a month before his September departure in order to press the emperor for a monetary settlement for rights to parts of Asia Minor that Constance of Hohenstaufen had transferred to the king in 1306.<sup>53</sup> The suit proved irritating to the emperor, who dismissed it. Although this was surely a minor sticking point, not serious enough for either side to risk their newly restored friendship, it nevertheless indicates the uneasy relationship between Catalan commercial and dynastic interests in the Byzantine world. Because of distance and the strong position of the Genoese, the Aragonese monarchs could never effectively bring their political and naval weight to bear in order to force open the Byzantine Empire for their traders. The arrival of the Catalan Company drove a wedge between the interests of the House of Aragon, which through opportunistic negotiations with the Company's leaders gained neither their clear allegiance nor control, and those of the Catalan merchant community developing in the East, which could scarcely afford to antagonize the Greeks and their Genoese protectors.<sup>54</sup> This rapacious, independent mercenary band brought in to defend the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor in fact forced the issue of the Aragonese dynasty's ability to control Catalan expansion in the Greek world and thereby provoked a rupture in both trading and diplomatic relations. The Genoese exacted a high price from the emperor for their help in dislodging the Catalan Company, for they became the main defenders of Greek interests, gained increased jurisdictional independence within the empire, extended their trading privileges, and received further concessions at Chios and Phocaea. According to Laiou, the years from 1304 to 1308 marked "the real Genoese colonization of the empire."<sup>55</sup> This made the recovery of the Catalan commercial position even more difficult after diplomatic and trading relations were restored in 1315. Even though Catalan investors and sailors appeared anxious to revive their direct contacts with

<sup>53</sup> The commercial contract is ACB 1-7-382; Bernat Reig's commission from the king is transcribed in Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari*, no. 81. On the claims of Constance of Hohenstaufen, the widow of Emperor John III Vatatzes (1222-1254), see Constantin Marinesco, "De nouveau sur Constance de Hohenstaufen," *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 451-68; and Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 279-81.

<sup>54</sup> On the complex question of the allegiances of the Catalan Company to both James II of Aragon and Frederick II of Sicily, see Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 137-40, 177-83; Olwer, *L'expansió*, 57-60; Burns, "The Catalan Company," 765-70.

<sup>55</sup> Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 147.

Constantinople, merchants had to remain content with the trade the Genoese would allow them; during the fourteenth century Catalan commercial relations with Byzantium were irregular and frequently degenerated into raids on Genoese ships or commercial outposts.<sup>56</sup>

Early Catalan contacts with Byzantium failed to solidify into a stable route of exchange; the Aegean was not to form part of the "Catalan Main." In the late Middle Ages, Romania remained a marginal zone of Catalan commercial interest, accessible only with the consent of the Genoese in Pera, Caffa, and Chios. Yet the failure of the Catalans to establish strong, viable commercial outposts in the Byzantine Empire presents the Mediterranean expansion of the Crown of Aragon from a revealing, if disappointing, angle. The early phase of Byzantine-Aragonese contacts from 1260 to 1302 followed the establishment of durable relations with North Africa, anchored on the mercantile-military outposts in Tunis and Bougie and placed under firm royal command. In these centers, a combination of trading emporia and military barracks, a convergence of dynastic, mercenary, and commercial interests fused into a durable pattern of exchange and communication. As the Catalans began to move more aggressively into the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, however, dynastic and commercial interests often seemed to move in different directions, determined in both Egypt and the Byzantine world by crusading ambitions, diplomatic intrigue, and competition among well entrenched Italian powers. The fluctuating control over the consulates of Egypt and Constantinople between the Crown and Barcelona's municipal council reveal the difficulty in finding a proper balance among these interests. If the consulates were tentatively moving toward increasing independence in the late thirteenth century, much in the manner of Genoese Pera, which came to act as an independent city-state, the Byzantine markets did not prove lucrative enough to create a dynamic and stable Catalan merchant community in Constantinople. The inability of dynastic, naval, and commercial forces to fuse into durable institutions and policies, not a failure of acculturation, accounts for the half-hearted Catalan commercial presence in Romania during the fourteenth century.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 2:593.

<sup>57</sup> For a different view of the problem, see Archibald R. Lewis "The Catalan Failure in Acculturation in Frankish Greece and the Islamic World during the Fourteenth Century," *Viator*, 11 (1980), 361-70.

Barcelona's patricians and leading entrepreneurs exhibited a marginal interest in Byzantine trade. Only a small band of adventurous merchants from the Crown of Aragon managed to establish themselves in Constantinople, and even fewer succeeded in breaking into the closed Black Sea markets.<sup>58</sup> In contrast to Venetian and Genoese investments in Byzantium and the Levant, those made by Catalan investors did not greatly exceed the sums placed in Sicilian and North African trade.<sup>59</sup> Socially, the profits from Byzantine and even Levant trade did not in themselves prove sufficient to form an elite group of families in Barcelona or other Catalan towns that dominated investments in the Eastern Mediterranean and treated overseas outposts as clannish resources. The commercial, dynastic, and military projection of the Crown of Aragon thus appears scattered, moving opportunistically into the spaces allowed within the solid structures of Italian trade and naval interests and the old dynastic alliances of the Latin states in Greece. The late arrival of the Catalans in the Byzantine world can thus be understood only through the complex matrix of forces shaping the thirteenth-century Mediterranean as a whole, not as a simple line of Catalan imperialism drawn from one end of the sea to the other.

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<sup>58</sup> Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 1:243, 266; G. I. Bratianu, *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1281–90)* (Bucharest, 1926), no. 48.

<sup>59</sup> Investments of Barcelona merchants for the Levant and Romania averaged 663 sous and 606 sous respectively before 1290, in comparison to 431 sous for North Africa and al-Andalus and 270 sous for Sicily; see Bensch, *Barcelona*, 288. Although investments for Eastern Mediterranean trade are somewhat higher than for routes closer to home, the differential is much larger in Genoa and Venice. See Erik Bach, *La cité de Gênes au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Copenhagen, 1955), 50–52; Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 2:522–32; Gerhard Rösch, *Der venezianische Adel bis zur Schließung des Großen Rats* (Sigmaringen, 1989), 111.

Note: A summer stipend generously awarded by the National Endowment for the Humanities greatly facilitated part of the archival research in Barcelona upon which this article is based.

## APPENDIX

No. 1: August 26, 1281

Bartomeu Romeu and Bonanat Barraler, citizens of Barcelona, receive a commission from the merchants of Barcelona to appoint Pere Ris consul for the subjects of the king of Aragon in Constantinople. Regulations for the administration of the community are established in a royal diploma dated June 19, 1279.

A. Original parchment. ACB 1-6-4037. 357 x 256 mm.

Noverint universi quod nos Bartholomeus Romei et Bonanatus Barralerii mercatores et cives Barchinone electi auctoritate illustris domini Petri dei gratia regis Aragonum a mercatoribus civitatis Barchinone super mercaturis fideliter et legaliter tractandis et aministrandis prout in tenore instrumenti dicti domini regis sigillo eiusdem maiori pendenti sigillato cuius tenor infra scribitur continetur. De consilio et assensu mercatorum Barchinone ad honorem predicti domini regis Aragonum et ad communem utilitatem hominum eiusdem elegimus in consulem apud Constantinopolim et in aliis partibus Romanie Petrum Ris mercatorem Barchinone euntem ad dictas partes in navi Bonayn Lauri et sociorum. Itaque ipse habeat potestatem procurandi et aministrandi in dictis partibus omnia ea que viderit expedire hominibus terre dicti domini regis navigantibus et existentibus apud Constantinopolim et in aliis partibus Romanie predictis quamdiu ipse consul ibi fuerit iuxta ordinationes nostras que infra continentur et omnes homines de terra dicti domini regis navigantes et existentes in dictis partibus teneantur dicto consuli obedire. In testimonium autem huius rei presens instrumentum iussimus fieri auctoritate Berengarii Lupeti notarii publici Barchinone infrascripti.

Datum Barchinona .vii.<sup>o</sup> kalendas septembri anno domini .m.<sup>o</sup> .cc.<sup>o</sup> octuagesimo primo.

Tenor autem instrumenti dicti domini regis talis est. Noverint universi quod nos Petrus dei gratia rex Aragonum volumus et concedimus universis mercatoribus Barchinone qui officium mercationis seu negociationis ibi exercent aut exercuerint quod possint eligere inter se et sibi proponere duos mercatores ex ipsis bonos et legales qui electi de comuni assensu dictorum mercatorum vel maioris partis

eorum procurent aministrent et faciant omnia que necessaria fuerint ad comunem utilitatem ipsorum omnium et singulorum super mercationibus suis bene et fideliter et absque diminutione nostrorum iurium procurandis. Hanc autem concessionem facere intendimus quamdiu nobis placuerit salvo iure nostro in omnibus et ita quod iurisdictioni nostre propter ipsam nullatenus derogetur. Mandantes vicario baiulo et aliis officialibus nostris Barchinone presentibus et futuris quod hanc concessionem nostram predictis mercatoribus firmam habeant et observent et faciant observari prout superius continetur.

Datum Valencie .xiii.<sup>o</sup> kalendas iulii anno domini .m.<sup>o</sup> .cc.<sup>o</sup> .lxx.<sup>o</sup> nono. Sig. Petri dei gratia regis Aragonum. Testes sunt Guilelmus de Castro Novo, Amor Dionisii, Blascho Masza, Icardus de Muro, et Bernardus de Petra Tallada. Sig. Petri de Sancto Clemente scriptoris predicti domini regis qui mandato eius hoc scribi fecit et clausit loco die et anno prefixis.

La tenor empero dels dits ordenamens es aquesta. Ordenen en Bertholomeu Romeu e en Bonanat Barraler a honor del senyor rey darago e a profit de la mercaderia que en cascuna nau vaien .ii. consols e quels consols que iuren que be e leyalment a honor del senyor rey e a cuminal profit de les sues gents e de lur mercaderia procuren tots aquels qui sien de la senyoria del senyor rey darago a be e a profit dels e que pusquen destrenyer aquels en persones e en coses si avien fet so que no deguessen o no volien obeir als consols. E si peraventura alguns daquels nos volien destrenyer per els ordenen quels consols ab testimonis scriven los noms daquels e les males fetes que fetes aien e que conferan en Barcelona que ho deien denunciar a els. Item ordenen que quantes que naus vaien en Oltramar o en Erminia o en Romania o en Barberia o en altres parts que los dits consols qui iran en la primera nau qui primerament la fara port sien apelats e tenguts per consols per totes les altres naus qui aqui vendran mentre aquella primera nau hi sera. Els altres consols qui in les altres naus iran sien conseladors e ajudors dels primers .ii. consols e ab aquels ensemps tracten lo cuminal profit de les lurs gens. E si peraventura los .ii. primers consols seu venien o avien anar en altres parts aquels .ii. consols de l'altra nau qui aqui fees port apres de la primera fossen tenguts per consols per totes les altres naus axi con les primeres. E si tant era que la un dels .ii. consols falis que altre hi fos stablit en loc daquel daquels so es asaber de l'altra nau qui apres fos venguda. E axi ordenen ques seguescha de la primera nau tro ala derrera. Item ordenen que si negu mercader de Barcelona o

daltre loc de la senyoria del senyor rey comensava segons lur conexensa de guastar les coses que el agues portades en lo dit viatge que els per si meteís e ab lur consel e encara ab la senyoria de la terra si als fer no podien emparassen e presessen e salvassen totes aqueles coses que poguessen trobar al dit mercader.

Sig. Berengarii Lupeti notarii publici Barchinone qui rogatus a dictis Bartholomeu Romei et Bonanato Barralerio hoc scripsit et clausit die et anno quo supra.

No. 2: November 26, 1289

Pere de Conangle admits owing Ramon de Tarascó 8 hyperpers and merchandise seized by Genoese pirates near Ania.

A. Original parchment. ACB 1-6-1813. 175 x 157 mm.

Sit omnibus notum quod ego Petrus de Conangulo confiteor et recognosco vobis Raimundo de Tarascono et vestris quod ex illa comanda triginta unius librarum et quinque solidorum et septem denariorum monete Barchinone de terno quam de vobis recepi et portavi in viatico Romanie in navi Bernardi de Ulmo et sociorum prout in carta inde confacta auctore Bernardi Paschalis notarii Barchinone .v.º kalendas octobris anno domini .m.º cc.º lxxx.º .vii.º continetur. Ceperunt a me in dicta navi violenter homines quinque galearum ianuensium de quibus erat admiraldus Paulinus de Oria in Gulfo de Ania octo perperes auri quos ego habeam intus caxiam meam et quos habueram de aliquibus mercibus dicte nostre comande. Item ceperunt a me homines dictarum galearum unum camisollum de ferro et duas gorgerias vestras qui et que fuerunt apreciati in dicta comanda ad sexaginta quatuor solidos monete Barchinone de terno. Unde promitto vobis et bona fide convenio quod tradam vobis voluntati vestre indilate quamcumque restitutionem seu emendam recepero aliquo tempore de predictis octo perperis et de dicto camisol et gorgeriis. Concedo etiam vobis quod si in absentia mei fiet aliqua restitutio seu emenda de predictis quod vos possitis eandem restitutionem et emendam petere et recipere.

Actus est hoc .vi.º kalendas decembris anno domini millesimo ducentesimo octuagesimo nono. Sig. Petri de Conangulo predicti qui hoc laudo et firmo. Testes huius rei sunt Guilelmus de Claromonte, Petrus Catalani, et Arnaldus Maestre. Sig. Petri Lupeti notarii publici Barchinone qui hoc scribi fecit et clausit.



No. 3: September 25, 1278

Pelegrí de Canells receives in comanda from Arnau de Sola, a shoemaker of Barcelona, 100 sous in twenty-five iron-tipped lances for a voyage to Romania.

A. Original parchment. ACA pergamins varis, Sentmenat, Indice 8, III, 81. 216 x 136 mm.

Sit omnibus notum quod ego Pelegrinus de Canellis concedo et recognosco tibi Arnaldo de Solerio sabaterio commoranti in carraria maris in Barchinona et tuis quod porto in tua comanda in presenti viatico quod facio ad partes Romanie in navi Francisci de Rovira et sociorum vel ubicumque ipsa navis fecerit portum causa mercandi centum solidos monete Barchinone de terno implicatis in viginti quinque lanceis cum earum ferris. Super quibus renuncio exceptioni rerum non numeratarum et non habitarum et non comandatarum et doli. Promitens hanc comandam illic vendere sicut melius potero bona fide et precium quod inde habuero implicare ibidem in eriminis vel gala quecumque horum tibi plus videro expedire atque implicamenta ipsa capitale scilicet et lucrum promito reducere in tui posse vel tuorum dicto viatico facto sicut deus ea salvaverit. Ita vero quod ego habeam de lucro quod deus in hac comanda dederit quartam partem et tu habeas residuas tres partes ipsius lucri cum tuo dicto capitali. Set comanda hec eat maneat et redeat ad tui rede gum et fortunam. Et pro hiis omnibus firmiter et legaliter sub dicta forma complendis attendendis et observandis obligo tibi et tuis me et omnia bona mea mobilia et immobilia.

Actum est hoc .vii. kalendas octobris anno domini .m.<sup>o</sup>.cc.<sup>o</sup> septuagento octavo. Sig. Pelegrini de Canellis predicti qui hec omnia concedo et firmo. Testes huius rei sunt Arnaldus Cama, et Iohanes Vicarius. Sig. Guilelmi de Boscho publici Barchinone notarii qui hoc scripsit et clausit die et anno prefixo.

No. 4: June 8, 1316

Arnau de Cornellà, Guillem de Costabella, Bernat Maçana, and Bernat de Malví, citizens of Barcelona, receive from Ferrera, wife of Jaume d'Oliver, citizen of Barcelona, 85 lbs. 18 sous and 6 denars in the ternal coinage of Barcelona invested in 60 jars of olive oil, holding 724 *quarterii*, on the voyage to Romania which they will make in their roundship.

A. Original parchment. ACB 1-7-1395. 148 x 137 mm. Cancelled with slits.

B. Notarial register. AHPB, Not. 5-2, Pere de Torre, fol. 106v. Includes body of text only.

Sit omnibus notum quod nos Arnaldus de Corniliano Guilelmus de Costabella Gerardus Maciani et Bernardus de Malvino cives Barchinone quilibet nostrum insolidum confitemur et recognoscimus vobis domine Ferrarie uxoris Iacobi Oliverii civis Barchinone quod recepimus et portamus in nostra comanda<sup>a</sup> in presenti viatico quod facimus ad partes Romanie in cocha nostra vel ubicumque dicta cocha portum faciet causa mercandi octuaginta quinque libras et decem et octo solidos et sex denarios monete Barchinone de terno implicatas in sexaginta iarris olei in quibus sunt septuaginti viginti quartarii olei. Quam comandam renunciantes exceptioni olei non recepti et doli et nove constitutioni et beneficio dividende actionis promittimus vendere sicut melius poterimus bona fide et precium quod inde habuerimus fideliter implicare in duabus carguis de cera et residuum in alumine de rocha vel possimus dictam comandam implicare in cera si nobis videbitur faciendum. Et ipsum implicamentum capitale et lucrum prout deus inde salvaverit in vestrum vel vestrorum posse fideliter reducere facto dicto viatico. Ita tamen quod de omni lucro quod deus in hac comanda dederit habeamus nos quartam partem et vos residuas tres partes cum vestro capitali predicto. Et predictam comandam possimus nos omnes vel tres a[ut]<sup>b</sup> duo vel etiam unus aportare vobis in dicta cocha vel in alio quolibet vassello nobis videbitur qui venia[t in]<sup>c</sup> partes occidentales. Set hec comanda sit ubique ad vestri redegum et fortunam. Et pro his complendis obligamus vobis et vestris quilibet nostrum insolidum nos et omnia bona nostra habita et habenda.

Actum est hoc sexto idus iunii anno domini millesimo .ccc.<sup>o</sup> sextodecimo. Sig. Arnaldi de Corniliano Sig. Guilelmi de Costabella Sig. Bernardi Maciani Sig. Bernardi de Malvino predictorum qui hoc firmamus. Testes huius rei sunt Bartholomeus Martini, et Franciscus Guarnerii. Sig. Petri de Turri notarii publici Barchinone qui hoc scribi fecit et clausit cum litteris rasis et emendatis in linea .viii.<sup>a</sup> ubi dicitur duabus.

<sup>a</sup> *comanda* repeated in A.

<sup>b</sup> *ut* damaged in A.

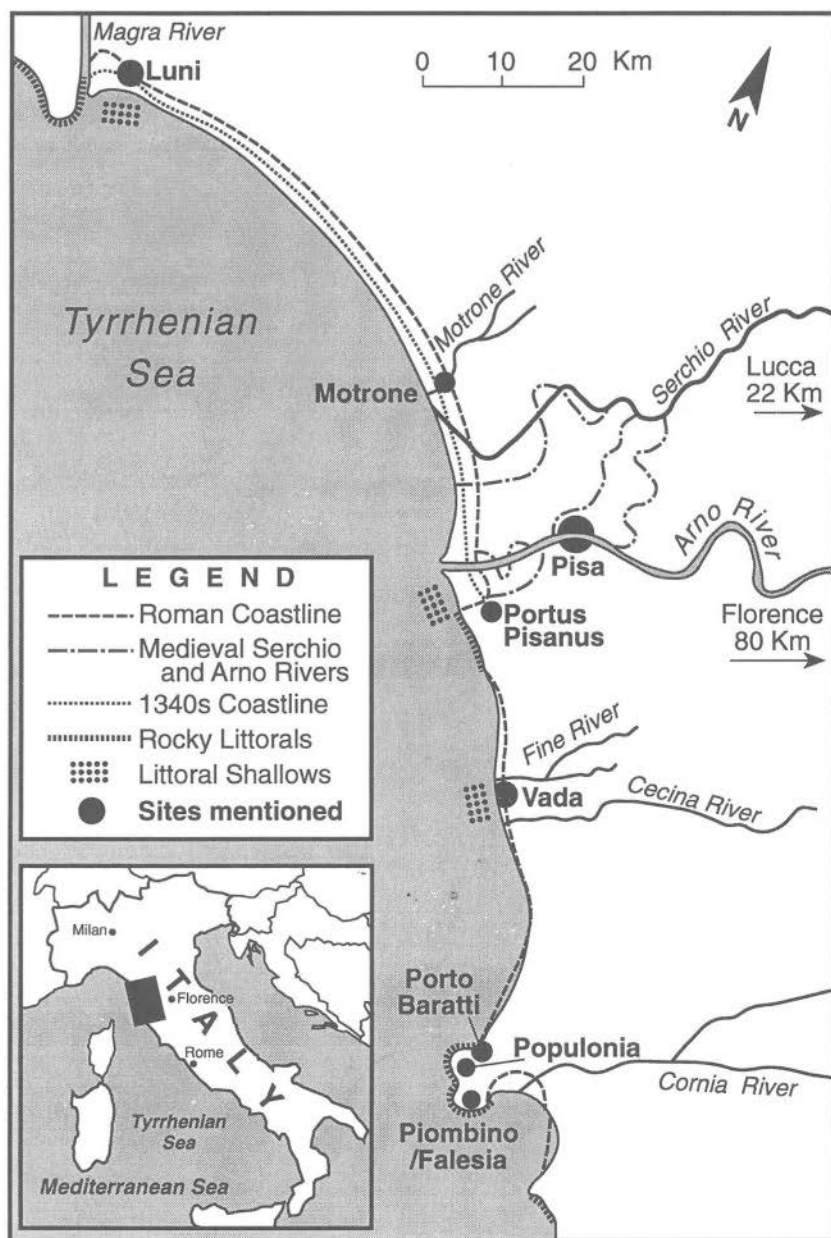
<sup>c</sup> *t in* damaged in A.

## AN INTERDISCIPLINARY AND COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO NORTHERN TUSCAN PORTS IN THE EARLY AND HIGH MIDDLE AGES

*Silvia Orvietani Busch*

Rapid development in methods of scientific disciplines has given historians, in recent years, tools for researching a broader spectrum of the conditions of life in past civilizations. For the evolution of ports along the Tuscan coast, a combination of information from geological studies and archaeological investigation, together with archival and literary sources, has proved particularly rewarding. Attention to change in the natural habitat of the coastal settlements has highlighted problems and also justified those choices made by the people of the time, which historical sources alone had not been able to explain. Past societies, since their level of technological advancement was inferior to ours, were particularly sensitive to the influence of natural conditions, which determined location and quality of settlement. Archaeological investigations have provided invaluable evidence not contained in the documentary records; they cover time periods unrecovered by the documents and indicate living conditions, characteristics of settlement, and time frames. Archaeology, geology, and documentation, when integrated, permit a more detailed analysis of past phenomena; they also limit the occurrence of chronological gaps and misinterpretations.

The coastal area that this study concerns [see Map 1] appears now geomorphologically as a series of variously long and broad curving beaches, interrupted by sporadic rocky formations. During the Middle Ages the area's natural features had been dramatically changing, bringing about modifications in the quality and activities of the littoral settlements. Accumulation of sediment at river mouths, as well as marine encroachment, modified the terminal path of rivers, transformed large parts of littoral lagoons into marshes, and advanced the coastline further into the sea. These transformations were more evident along the littoral between Luni and Pisa, which advanced into the sea two to three miles in the period from late Antiquity to



Map 1. The coast between Luni and Piombino

the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> This littoral appeared as a relatively uninterrupted progression of lagoons, rapidly deteriorating into marshes, bordered by extensive sandbanks behind which forests and wildlife thrived. But the major transformations took place near the mouths of the rivers.

The river Magra was quickly filling its large outlet gulf with sediment, causing the formation of marshes, the silting up of the Roman-founded port of Luni, and, eventually, the total abandonment of the famous city by the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup> In the area near Pisa, the northern channel of the Auser river, now the Serchio river, increased its flow into an independent mouth, at the expense of its ancient outlet in the Arno near the city. The Arno throughout the Middle Ages maintained its principal mouth while its two other minor channels decreased in importance. The increase in flow of sediment to one mouth determined the rapid advance of the outlet itself and the nearby coast three kilometers into the sea. The gulf of the Roman Portus Pisanus, a few miles south of the city, was isolated from the open sea by long sandbanks; at the same time, outflow from the marsh area behind kept this gulf from becoming completely enclosed.<sup>3</sup> The littoral south of Portus Pisanus to the promontory of Piombino suffered less extensive modifications, due to the limited power of its rivers. In any case, encroaching pressure of the sea forced seawater to flow behind the coastal sandbanks, slightly modifying the coastline and creating wetlands which were used as saltworks already in the early Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup>

These geomorphological phenomena had a direct influence on the evolution of coastal settlements and ports. Minor centers active in Etruscan and Roman times were abandoned in the early Middle Ages,

<sup>1</sup> Marinella Pasquinucci and Renzo Mazzanti, "La costa tirrenica da Luni a Portus Cosanus," in *Déplacements des lignes de rivage en Méditerranée* (Paris, 1987), 96–106, and "L'evoluzione del litorale Lunense-Pisano," *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, 12 (1983), 605–28.

<sup>2</sup> Silvia Orvietani Busch, "Luni in the Middle Ages: The agony and the disappearance of a city," *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), 283–96.

<sup>3</sup> Pasquinucci, "La costa tirrenica," 100; *Il fiume, la campagna, il mare, reperti documenti immagini per la storia di Vecchiano*, ed. Renzo Mazzanti et al. (Pisa, 1988), 33–35; Renzo Mazzanti, Marinella Pasquinucci, and Ughetta Salghetti Drioli, "Il sistema secche della Meloria-Porto Pisano: geomorfologia e biologia marina in relazione ai reperti archeologici," *1284, l'anno della Meloria*, ed. Renzo Mazzanti et al. (Pisa, 1984), 9–54; *Terre e Paduli, reperti documenti immagini per la storia di Collano* (Pisa, 1986), 197–211.

<sup>4</sup> *Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*, ed. Luigi Schiaparelli, vol. 1 (Roma, 1929), 337, doc. 116.

in response to decay of the economic and geological conditions that had caused their original foundation. Suffering this fate were the small coastal settlements, mostly concentrated in the area between the mouths of the Auser and the Arno, inhabited from the fifth century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.<sup>5</sup> Along the coast south of Pisa many Roman *villae* were abandoned.<sup>6</sup> Archaeological investigations have established that a few others, owing to favorable natural conditions, were then reused as monasteries and hermitages.<sup>7</sup> The famous Etruscan and later Roman city of Populonia was already in ruinous condition in the fifth century A.D.<sup>8</sup> Repeated pirate incursions throughout the early Middle Ages, plus lack of an economic function, brought about the downfall of this ancient city by the ninth century.<sup>9</sup>

The ports active in the central centuries of the Middle Ages along this coast—Luni, Pisa, Vada, Falesia/Piombino and Motrone—offer a variety of examples of port settlements. Luni and Pisa, the main port-cities of the Roman period, stand out for their geomorphological similarities and contrasting destinies. After the turn of the millennium, while Pisa began to develop the basis of its mercantile empire for succeeding centuries, Luni ended in total decay. In both cities strong urban authorities existed, so the political climate alone cannot explain the differences in their evolution. The speed and magnitude of environmental changes, therefore, are an important key to understanding the different evolution of Pisa and Luni. Vada and Piombino, although never rising to the city status of Pisa, were successful in exploiting their locations as major assets in becoming important port-oriented settlements. Motrone, on the other hand, could not do so, because of its difficult position in disputed land between two powerful medieval communes, Pisa and Lucca.

<sup>5</sup> Simonetta Menchelli and Maria Adelaide Vaggioli, "Ricerche archeologico-topografiche nell'ager pisanus settentrionale: il sito costiero di Isola di Migliarino," *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 37 (1987), 495–520; G. Fornaciari and G. Mencarini, "Lo scavo di S. Rocchino," *Notizie Scavi*, (1970); *Il livello antico del Mar Tirreno, testimonianze dai resti archeologici*, ed. Giulio Schmiedt (Firenze, 1972).

<sup>6</sup> *Terme Romane e Vita Quotidiana*, ed. Marinella Pasquinucci (Modena, 1982).

<sup>7</sup> "La villa Romana di Poggio al Mulino, campagna di scavo 1984," *Rassegna di archeologia* (1985). The intense use of Roman coastal buildings by hermits and monks in the early Middle Ages has been studied by Jean Leclercq, "L'eremitisme en Occident jusqu'à l'an mille," in *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI–XII*, Atti della seconda settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 1962 (Milano, 1965), 27–44.

<sup>8</sup> Rutilius Claudius Numatianus, *Rutilii Claudii Numatiani De Reditu Suo*, ed. C. Haines Keen, (London, 1907), lines 401ff.

<sup>9</sup> Elena Belsito, "Populonia nell'Alto Medioevo," unpublished Tesi di Laurea, Università di Pisa, year 1968–1969, 143ff.

*Luni*

An important Mediterranean harbor in the Roman republican and imperial eras, the Portus Lunae survived, located on the marine lagoon between Luni and the sea, during the first centuries of the early Middle Ages. There is no direct documentation about the port in this period; but there are grounds to hypothesize that it guaranteed communication with the monastery on the island of Gorgona, placed in 594 by Pope Gregory the Great under the patronage, a status continuing until 1056, of Luni's episcopate.<sup>10</sup> Archaeological finds in Luni of coins from the Byzantine mints of Ravenna, Constantinople, Carthage, Thessalonica, and Antioch also attest to the presence of active mercantile traffic through the city's port in the sixth and seventh centuries, and even after conquest of the area by the Lombards.<sup>11</sup>

In the ninth century the port of Luni, by now annexed to the Carolingian Empire, may have been the base for the naval expedition in 828 by the Marquis of Tuscia Bonifacius against the Muslim pirates nested in Corsica and Sardinia.<sup>12</sup> While direct documentation about the port is not available, geological studies permit us to follow the natural degradation of the area in the Middle Ages. Continuous deposits of sediment from the Magra river caused progressive silting of the coast and the marine lagoon, and the formation of large marshes around Luni. Almost undetectable in the archival documentation, these natural changes help explain the decay of the city and its port, even though located along the Via Francigena, the most important land artery of medieval Europe. Luni was unable to react to the decline of its surrounding habitat, as it was situated in a not excessively rich agriculture setting, and to the decline of its port, which had been the major economical hub of this city since the Roman imperial era.

<sup>10</sup> Epistles of Pope Gregory the Great to Venantius bishop of Luni; *M.G.H., Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*, 1:liber 5, doc. 5 (September 594); and *M.G.H., Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*, 1:liber 5, doc. 17 (November 594).

<sup>11</sup> Andrea Bertino, "Monete attestate a Luni dal IV al XI secolo," *Atti del Convegno I Liguri dall'Arno all'Ebro*, Albenga 1982, in *Rivista di Studi Liguri*, 49 (1983), 165–300.

<sup>12</sup> Attestation to this expedition, without specification of the port of departure, is in the *Annales Regni Francorum*, year 828, *M.G.H., SS RG in usum scholarum*, 6:176, and also in the *Vita Hludovici Imperatoris*, *M.G.H., SS*, 2:632. Luni had also strong political bonds with Corsica. Regarding this subject see Mario Nobili, "Sviluppo e caratteri della dominazione Obertenga in Corsica tra XI e XII secolo," *Annuario 1978/79 della Biblioteca Civica di Massa* (Pisa, 1980), 12–44.

In the royal and imperial documents granted frequently since the tenth century to the highest urban authority, the bishops of Luni, the Portus Lunae is never mentioned. In fact, neither the privilege of Berengarius I on 24 May 900,<sup>13</sup> nor of Otto I in 963,<sup>14</sup> nor of Otto II in 981<sup>15</sup> indicate mercantile activities in the city, even if the latter two define Luni as a *curtis* of the bishop *cum mercatis . . . suis*. Because of its position along the increasingly traveled Via Francigena, which retraced in this area the Roman Via Aemilia Scauri, Luni became from the tenth century a well known station on itineraries between Rome and the rest of Europe. This also encouraged, despite its silting, some activity in the city's port. A written source of the eleventh century records Luni as port of embarkation, or more probably rendezvous, for the fleet carrying Raymond of Toulouse on way to Jerusalem.<sup>16</sup> Sporadic activity in the port does not, however, mean the existence of organized mercantile structures, especially in a city largely uninhabited.<sup>17</sup> Twice during the eleventh century Pisa needed wood from the environs of Luni, and both times the shipment was organized by the Pisans themselves, demonstrating the inability of Luni to deal with consistent port operations.<sup>18</sup>

The two descriptions of Luni from the middle of the twelfth century, when nearby Pisa and Genoa were already maritime powers, present the city mainly as a junction of land routes. A port is again

<sup>13</sup> *I Diplomi di Berengario I*, ed. Luigi Schiaparelli, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 35 (Roma, 1903), 67, doc. 26.

<sup>14</sup> *M.G.H., Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae*, 1:pt. 1., 287–88.

<sup>15</sup> *M.G.H., Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae*, 2:pt. 3, 363–64.

<sup>16</sup> Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum Sanctae Fidis*, ed. André Bouillet, in *Collections de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'Histoire* (Paris, 1897), 2:93–94: "[Raymond of Toulouse] aliquando Hierosolimitanum iter aggressus, iam maxima Italiae parte emensa, apud Lunam, urbem ab antiquis celebratam, Mediterraneo pelago sese classe apparata credidit, ut per marinum cursum citius rectiusque Hierosolimitanae partes accedere posset."

<sup>17</sup> Orvietani Busch, "Luni in the Middle Ages," 289.

<sup>18</sup> The first time wood and marble columns, probably from the Roman ruins, were needed for the renovation and expansion of the Pisan monastery of St. Michele in Borgo, the *Breve Recordationis* of the Abbot Bono recalls: "et hedificavi alias mansiones de lignis castanietis quas veniri feci per mare de Luni . . . et (the monastery) est tam perfecta domus ut in tota marcha meliore non est cum columnas quas de insula Elba et de Luni adduci feci" (quoted from Maria Luisa Magnani, "I monasteri pisani dalle origini al 1076", unpublished Tesi di Laurea, Università di Pisa, year 1964–1965, app. III). The second time, the wood was necessary for the construction and arming of the Pisan fleet set against the then Muslim Balearic Islands (*Liber maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, ed. Carlo Calisse, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, 29 (Roma, 1904), lines 97–100).



not mentioned, but some marine routes are recorded as still touching the city. Both the Arab geographer al-Idrisi<sup>19</sup> and the Icelandic abbot Nikulas of Munkathvera<sup>20</sup> depict Luni as a stop along Via Francigena, connected to Pisa by sea, and a station along itineraries to and from Spain and Santiago de Compostela.

In contemporaneous documents concerning the bishop of Luni or neighboring cities, port or sea-oriented utilities in the city are never mentioned; but two indirect citations leave a clue to the situation. In a concession dated 1163 from Emperor Frederick I to the inhabitants of nearby Sarzana, the latter are exempted from payment of commercial and transit taxes to the Luni bishop along the *litore lunensi*.<sup>21</sup> The reconfirmation of rights and properties in 1183 from Frederick to the bishop of Luni included also, in the list of possessions, the *ripam lunensis portus*.<sup>22</sup> These two marginal testimonies mark the already complete decay of the port, driven by geomorphological degradation to survive erratically on the marshy beach separating Luni more and more from the sea. After these last references the port of Luni fell into oblivion. The city was in its death throes, surrounded by malarial marshes and growing increasingly inadequate as a stop along the major European artery that the Via Francigena had become. The end came within a few years. Depopulated Luni was officially abandoned in 1204, while the Via Francigena itself was rerouted to the surrounding hills to avoid the incoming marshes.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Michele Amari, and Luigi Schiaparelli, *L'Italia descritta nel Libro del Re Ruggero compilato da Edrisi* (Roma, 1883).

<sup>20</sup> "At Luni the routes from Spain and Santiago de Compostela join . . . there is a day's distance from Luni to Lucca," in F. P. Magoun, "The pilgrim diary of Nikulas of Munkathvera: The road to Rome," *Medieval Studies*, 6 (1944), 314–54. In Luni the Nordic religious delegation, of which Nikulas was part, celebrated the Easter's rites and on Easter day the head of the delegation himself presided over an arbitration between the city's bishop and the canons of the Cathedral (P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia*, vol. 6, pt. 2: *Liguria Maritima*, 382). Regarding the Via Francigena see Renato Stopani, *La Via Francigena, una strada europea nell'Italia del Medioevo* (Firenze, 1988).

<sup>21</sup> *Il Regestum Vetus del Comune di Sarzana*, ed. Geo Pistarino (Sarzana, 1965), 5: "atque largimur utque in litore lunensi nec in Macra flumine pedaticum vel datium aliquod tribuant."

<sup>22</sup> *Il regesto del Codice Pelavicino*, ed. Michele Lupo Gentile, (Genova, 1912), 350 (June 20, 1183): "Fredericus . . . amicum Petrum lunensem episcopum . . . comitatum cum omni integritate honoris sui, et ripam lunensis portus et portus Amelie, et pedagium secundum quod habere consuevit, ei concedimus."

<sup>23</sup> Orvietani Busch, "Luni in the Middle Ages," 292.

*Pisa*

Between the fourth century B.C. and the fifth century A.D., along the coast near Pisa, various small ports and harbors were active, as archaeological investigation has revealed. This was due to the area's fluvio-lagunar morphology, which facilitated mercantile traffic along the rivers and on the sea. On the coast immediately north of Pisa, the small settlement of Isola di Migliarino was a center for export of local agriculture and ceramic products. It was also a stop along the commercial sea routes, and a port of arrival for merchandise from all the Mediterranean.<sup>24</sup> At the mouth of the most important channel of the Arno stood another port settlement, in the locality now called San Piero a Grado. Archaeological excavations have revealed, underneath the present Romanesque basilica, a large commercial structure connected to a landing, which was in use until the second century A.D.<sup>25</sup> In the large fluvial-lagunar gulf south of Pisa there was another port, Portus Pisanus, connected with the city and its agriculture hinterland by the third and more southerly channel of the Arno.<sup>26</sup>

In late Antiquity morphological modification of the coast changed the natural conditions of the area. Together with the modified economic and political situation, this determined the fate of the system of landings and ports. During the early Middle Ages only the existence of the port of Pisa is occasionally and indirectly revealed.<sup>27</sup> It is difficult to determine if this was the fluvial city port itself or the

<sup>24</sup> Menchelli, and Vaggioli, "Ricerche archeologico-topografiche," 510–13; *Il fiume, la campagna, il mare*, 83–89.

<sup>25</sup> Fabio Redi, "La Basilica di S. Piero a Grado," *Terre e paduli*, 210–38; and idem, "Rinvenimenti nell'area di S. Piero a Grado," *Terre e paduli*, 181–88.

<sup>26</sup> Simonetta Menchelli, "Contributo allo studio del territorio pisano: Coltano e l'area dell'ex padule di Stagno," *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 34 (1984), 255–58.

<sup>27</sup> Epistle of Pope Gregory the Great, dated June 603: "Ad Pisanos autem hominem nostrum nondum, qualem debuimus et quo modo debuimus, transmisimus sed obtinere nil potuit. Unde et dromones eorum iam parati ad egrediendum nuntiati sunt" (*M.G.H., Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*, 2:liber 12, doc. 36). The position that the Pisans took in the conflict between the Lombards and the Byzantines is unknown: either favorable to the former, as Fedor Schneider (*L'ordinamento pubblico nella Toscana Medievale [568–1268]*, trans. Fabrizio Barbolani di Montaiuto [Firenze, 1975], 115) maintains, or in support of the latter but retaining some autonomy in their actions, as Pier Maria Conti (*Luni nell'Altomedioevo* [Padova, 1967], 122) affirms.

*Continuatio Romana* of Paulus Diaconus, called *Fragmentum Langobardicae Historiae Paulo Diacono attributum, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Antonio Muratori, 1:pt. 2, 183: "(Adelchis) in Portu Pisano navale iter arripiens." The information about the departure from Pisa by Adelchis is indicated only by this source. Other sources, as the

Portus Pisanus. This large gulf was recorded already in the third century A.D. as Portus Pisanus;<sup>28</sup> two centuries later Rutilius Numatianus landed here and described its large shallow inlet, protected from the fury of the sea, and the road to Pisa.<sup>29</sup>

Even if documentary traces are scarce, growth of the maritime power and organization of Pisa during the early Middle Ages is established both by repeated well-planned expeditions, led by the city against pirate bases in the Western Mediterranean since 1005, and by its rapid mercantile and political expansion in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>30</sup> Where then was the port of departure for early Pisan mercantile and military enterprises? The *Liber maiolichinus*, a contemporary poem about the attack on the Balearic Islands in 1113–1115, describes the embarkation maneuvers for this expedition. The ships were loaded with men, horses, war machines and provisions in the port in Pisa, and then let down the Arno to exit into the sea, as seems to have been standard procedure. But they were too heavy to exit through the river's mouth and had to be offloaded, let out, and reloaded from the coast.<sup>31</sup> The cause, we know from geological studies, was the accumulation of river sediment and sea pressure at the mouth.

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*Vita Caroli* (M.G.H., SS RG in usum scholarum, 25:132) and the *Annales Regni Francorum* (M.G.H., SS RG, in usum scholarum, 6:40) do not record the place of departure. In 801 the ambassadors of Harun-Al-Rashid are said to have landed in the port of Pisa, on their way to Charlemagne (*Einhardi Annales*, M.G.H., SS, 1:190). It is also probable that Pisa participated in the 828 expedition of the Marquis of Tuscany Bonifacius against the Muslim pirates of Corsica and Sardinia. So thinks Schneider (*L'ordinamento pubblico*, 86) and also Gabriella Rossetti ("Società e Istituzioni nei secoli IX e X: Pisa, Volterra e Populonia," in *Lucca e la Tuscia nell'Altomedioevo*, Atti del V congresso internazionale di studi sull'Altomedioevo, Lucca 1971, [Spoleto, 1973], 228), because of the strong political bonds at the time between Pisa and Lucca, seat of the Carolingian March.

<sup>28</sup> *Itinerarium maritimum*, 501 (*Itineraria Romana*, ed. Otto Cuntz [Lipsia, 1929], 1:80). Portus Pisanus is here said to be 18 miles far from Vada and 8 miles from Pisa.

<sup>29</sup> *Rutilii Claudii Numatiani De Reditu Suo*, lines 530–54.

<sup>30</sup> About this subject there exists a large volume of literature. Among the most significant work: Marco Tangheroni, *Medioevo Tirrenico* (Pisa, 1992); idem, "Pisa, l'Islam, il Mediterraneo, la prima crociata, alcune considerazioni," in *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo* (Firenze, 1980), 31–55; idem, "Pisa e il regno crociato di Gerusalemme," in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airaldi and B. Kedar (Genova, 1986); and idem, "Economia e navigazione nel Mediterraneo occidentale tra XI e XII secolo," *Medioevo, Saggi e Rassegne*, 16 (1991), 9–24. See also *Pisa nei secoli XI e XII: formazione e caratteri di una classe di governo* (Pisa, 1979); Gioacchino Volpe, *Studi sulle istituzioni comunali a Pisa* (Firenze, 1970).

<sup>31</sup> *Liber maiolichinus*, lines 163–69. About this exploit and the epigraphs celebrating it see Giuseppe Scalia, "Epigraphica Pisana," in *Miscellanea di studi ispanici* (Pisa, 1968), 264.

The urban fluvial port was at that time the main maritime base for Pisa. The military dockyard, shipyards, and commercial utilities in the city easily connected with the hinterland along the network of marshes and river channels around Pisa.<sup>32</sup> In the central years of the twelfth century, together with construction of the third and larger city walls<sup>33</sup> and with the definition of political urban institutions,<sup>34</sup> the Pisan commune also enhanced the facilities destined for maritime traffic. Between 1160 and 1162 a *magna domus pro communi utilitate* was being built in the heart of the city next to the river, probably to be used for commercial storage and administrative headquarters for the urban port, together with a military shipyard and wetdock, and a guarded city customs house.<sup>35</sup>

These urban infrastructures were part of a port system that cleverly used the natural morphology around Pisa. Portus Pisanus became a fundamental part of this system. In the deepest and less marshy area of the gulf, massive construction work started in the middle of the twelfth century, in conjunction with other vital building activities of the commune, which highlights the importance ascribed to this port area. The city had frequently utilized this landing also in earlier years, as indicated by a massive attack against it launched by the Genoese enemy already in 1119,<sup>36</sup> and the area was continually settled since the tenth century.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The *Annales Ianuenses Cafari*, in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori* (1099–1233), ed. Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, vol. 1: *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, 11 (Roma, 1890) often report of Pisan ships going off to sea via the Arno river. In the *Vita S. Raynerii Pisani* (*Acta sanctorum, Mense Iunii*, vol. 3), written in the middle of the twelfth century, there are also indications of commercial ships leaving from Pisa and going down the Arno to the sea (see esp. pp. 440 and 464). For the history and documentation on the shipyards see: Gabriella Garzella, "L'arsenale medioevale di Pisa: primi sondaggi sulle fonti scritte," *Arsenali e città nell'Occidente Europeo*, ed. Ennio Concina (Roma, 1987), 51–62.

<sup>33</sup> For an analysis of the building of the mid-XIIth century city walls see Emilio Tolaini, *Forma Pisanum* (Pisa, 1979), 62–92.

<sup>34</sup> Rossetti, "Ceti dirigenti e classe politica," in *Pisa nei secoli XI e XII: formazione e caratteri di una classe di governo*, 28–49.

<sup>35</sup> Gabriella Rossetti, "Pisa: assetto urbano e infrastrutture portuali," in *Città portuali del Mediterraneo*, Atti del I convegno di studi sui rapporti tra strutture sociali e spazi urbani, Genova, 1985 (Genova, 1989), 263–86.

<sup>36</sup> *Annales Ianuenses Cafari*, 1:16: "Ianuenses cum magno exercitu ad Portum Pisanum tenderunt scilicet cum galeis octuaginta, cum gatis XXXV et cum gulabis XXVIII et cum navibus magnis IIII portantibus machina ac omnia instrumenta que ad bella sunt necessaria, nec non duo milia virorum bellatorum, militum ac peditum, inter quos bellatores quinque milia cum loriceis et galeis ferris." Probably augmented by the partisan spirit of the *Annales*, the scale of their military effort proves the determination of the Genoese to take control of this vital area of the enemy's maritime power.

<sup>37</sup> The development of settlement in this area has been studied by Giorgio Nitto,

It is impossible to establish definitely, without archaeological excavations or discovery of further archival documentation, what facilities existed in Portus Pisanus before the middle of the twelfth century. Between 1156 and 1163 three towers were built for the new harbor area, called *Portus Magnalis in Portu Pisano*. In 1163 the port had a fountain, a large building on shore for "the convenience of the sailors" and four towers. The Meloria tower, farthest into the sea, guided ships through the sandbanks and marked the channel of access to the gulf; two towers stood on either side of the entrance to the port; and the *turris Frasce*, whose period of construction was earlier but unknown, defended the port on the side of Pisa.<sup>38</sup> Each tower was staffed with three men. Their duty was not only surveillance against enemy action, but also care for the delicate geomorphological balance of the gulf. A fine of one hundred sous was, in fact, fixed in 1164 for anyone who threw ballast from a ship into the port waters. The money thus collected was to be used for maintenance of the port itself.<sup>39</sup> After a ruinous Genoese attack in 1162, a chain was placed between the towers at the entrance, while a well was dug for the mariners and the inhabitants of Portus Pisanus. In 1174 another building for depositing merchandise was then added with a tower and an iron door.<sup>40</sup>

Connections with Pisa were maintained both on land and sea. The littoral waters between the gulf and the mouth of the Arno were particularly dangerous, because of the presence of pirates and Genoese ships. Patrolling this area with Pisan ships was a constant concern of the commune.<sup>41</sup> As in the fifth century, the road "of Portus Pisanus" joined the city with this port by land.<sup>42</sup> Along this road there was a bridge and a hospital, whose duty was both care of travelers and

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"Le pievi di Porto di Pisano (X–XI secolo)," unpublished Tesi di Laurea, Università di Pisa, year 1966–1967.

<sup>38</sup> Rossetti, "Pisa, assetto urbano e infrastrutture portuali," 267–69.

<sup>39</sup> In the *Breve Consulum Pisanæ Civitatis* of the year 1164, the newly appointed Consuls were requested to swear that "Si cognovero aliquam navem savurram in Magnali proicere, communiter ab omnibus, vel uno pro omnibus, solidos centum tollam, et in ipso Magnali expendere faciam" (Francesco Bonaini, *Statuti inediti della città di Pisa* [Firenze, 1854], 1:34).

<sup>40</sup> Rossetti, "Pisa, assetto urbano e infrastrutture portuali," 268.

<sup>41</sup> See the *Breve Consulum Pisanæ Civitatis*, year 1162 (Bonaini, *Statuti inediti della città di Pisa*, 1:6).

<sup>42</sup> This road, already used by Rutilius Numatianus, was laid out on a course not too different from the current Via Vecchia Livornese, the "old road" between Pisa and the coast.

maintenance of the bridge itself.<sup>43</sup> Because of the increasing traffic between Pisa and Portus Pisanus, two channels were also cut, with paths parallel to the coastline, to allow transportation of merchandise on barges towed by men and donkeys.<sup>44</sup>

Another fundamental element of the port system around Pisa was the mouth of the Arno, through which military ships and also commercial traffic to and from Portus Pisanus passed. In addition, it constituted a very troublesome node, because of the difficulty for ships in exiting and especially entering. This was due to the sediment carried by the river, which could not flow into the open sea because of the intrusive force of the sea itself. The strategic importance of the area was well known to the Genoese, who launched periodic attacks against this natural maritime outlet from the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>45</sup> Control and protection of this area was essential for the Pisans; yet the first data on a communal fortification here comes only from the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>46</sup> The littoral between the Arno and the Serchio rivers belonged, certainly since 1084, to the canons of the cathedral of Pisa.<sup>47</sup> The monastery of San Rossore, in bitter conflict in the 1150s with the canons over the rights to use the area's natural resources, also stood near the mouth of the Arno.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Regarding the hospital and bridge of Stagno see: Rossetti, "Pisa: assetto urbano e infrastrutture portuali," note 51.

<sup>44</sup> Channel of La Vettola/S. Piero a Grado: *Annales Pisani*, (in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 6, pt. 2), year 1160, p. 246, and year 1162, p. 247; channel of Stagno: *Breve Consulum*, year 1164, (Bonaini, *Statuti Inediti della città di Pisa*, 1:37).

<sup>45</sup> The *Annales Pisani*, written by Bernardus Maragonis, offer testimony to the attack of 1065 and 1077 (p. 6). More information is given about the attack of 1122, timed by the Genoese during the ceremony of consecration of the Pisan cathedral. Nevertheless the Pisans were successful in organizing their army and freed once again this area (*Annales Pisani*, 9). In 1126 the Genoese tried once more to occupy the mouth: "cum stolo de galeis et gatis super Pisanos iverunt, et ad Arnum vexilla et tentoria posuerunt" (*Annales Ianuenses Cafari*, 1:23). In 1162, before launching the incursion against Portus Pisanus, the Genoese surprised three Pisan empty ships at the mouth of the river and sank them there (*Annales Pisani*, 27).

<sup>46</sup> Document dated August 29, 1274; in Renato Tozzi, "Atti di Ser Leopardo del Fornaio del registro n. 3 della serie contratti dell'archivio della Mensa Arcivescovile di Pisa (1272-1281)," unpublished Tesi di Laurea, Università di Pisa, year 1979-80, 48, doc. 281. The *turris de fauce Arni* lay at the time between the sea beach, which belonged to the archbishop, the river, and the ubiquitous marshes.

<sup>47</sup> *M.G.H., Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae*, 6:pt.2, doc. 359.

<sup>48</sup> Of this legal controversy there are left the depositions of the testimonies dated August 1155 (Roberta Sgherri, "I documenti dell'Archivio Capitolare di Pisa dall'Agosto 1155 al 18 Febbraio 1176," unpublished Tesi di Laurea, Università di Pisa, year 1963-64, 1-78), which are all in favor of the canons.

On the coast south of the Arno's mouth lay, at least from the middle of the twelfth century, the hospital of the church of Santa Croce di Foce d'Arno.<sup>49</sup> Because of its strategic position between littoral and mouth,<sup>50</sup> the hospital probably also assumed the function of enemy lookout for the commune of Pisa, since there is no indication of a military structure in the area until the middle of the thirteenth century. This articulated port system was strengthened by the role of the harbors along the Tuscan coast south of the city. The ports and settlements of Vada and Falesia/Piombino became, from the last years of the eleventh century, fundamental strategic and political supports to the mercantile power of Pisa. And the majority of the islands of the Tuscan Archipelago, because of their position along the sea routes of the Pisan ships, assumed the role of tactical stops and military strongholds for Pisa.

In 1162 the so called *Conventio cum Pisanis* of Frederick I, together with other large concessions, placed all the coast from Portovenere, just north of Luni, to Civitavecchia, south of Piombino, under the direct influence of the city, explicitly forbidding anyone to build a port there without the approval of the Pisans. Even if Pisa never acquired total control of this vast area, the document is an important indication of the city's ambitions and strategic plans.<sup>51</sup> At the end of the twelfth century Pisa had secured its mercantile monopoly along the Tuscan coast. Its major strongholds and auxiliary ports along the coast, Vada and Piombino, and on the islands of Pianosa and Capraia, enables the city to control the sea routes and the maritime commerce in this area. Even a combined attempt by Genoa and Lucca to build a rival port, Motrone, on the coast north of Pisa in the twelfth century was successfully defeated.

<sup>49</sup> January 16, 1189 (*Il Regesto del Codice Pelavicino*, 344).

<sup>50</sup> The location of the monastery, "iuxta ripam et iuxta faucem Sarni [Arni]," is given in a document dated June 5, 1202 (*Il Regesto del Codice Pelavicino*, 348-49).

<sup>51</sup> *Friderici I Constitutiones*, M.G.H. *Leges*, 4:282-87. In the *Breve Consulum Pisanae Civitatis* of 1162, included in the jurisdiction of the city consuls are the inhabitants of the coast between the mouth of the Serchio at north and Capalbio, in Maremma, at south. In the *Breve Consulum Pisanae Civitatis* of two years later the borders of the city's territory are better defined and they include in addition the entire Tuscan coast south of Pisa until Porto Ercole, ninety km. further south of Piombino (Bonaini, *Statuti inediti della città di Pisa*, 3 and 23). Already in the 1138 peace treaty between Genoa and Pisa, the coast under the latter's control was defined as extending from Luni to the promontory of Argentario/Porto Ercole (*Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, ed. Carlo Imperiale di Sant'Angelo [Roma, 1936], 98-99). Regarding the political implications of the diploma from Frederick I, see Volpe, *Studi sulle istituzioni comunali a Pisa*, 2-4.

*Vada*

Vada, an important Etruscan port, had retained mercantile and commercial importance also during the Roman era, as archaeological investigations of the thermal baths annexed to the now disappeared Roman port of *Vada Volaterrana* have shown.<sup>52</sup> But after the fifth century, in the general economic and political decadence, these thermal structures were modified to be used as dwellings. Life in Vada continued under Lombard domination, thanks to the presence of saltworks along the coast. Already active in late Antiquity, the saltworks of Vada are referred to in documents of 754<sup>53</sup> and 780.<sup>54</sup> As early as the tenth century there was a castle in Vada. In 996 a diploma of the Emperor Otto I was written "in castro quod dicitur Vado, in comitato pisense."<sup>55</sup> The castle was then already important; it was easily accessible for lodging the emperor himself and his court, and it was part of the territory administratively under Pisa. In the following century, settlement in Vada developed quickly within and around this castle.<sup>56</sup>

The saltworks were the major economic resource. They were diffused along all the coast between the mouth of the rivers Cecina and Fine, an area that geomorphologically was extremely favorable to their establishment. A document of 1031 reveals the proprietary rights of the bishop of Pisa in this profitable production and also the saltworks' structure. In the fifth century Rutilius Numatianus had described them simply as little ponds behind the littoral sandbanks, with narrow channels for the water.<sup>57</sup> By the eleventh century their structure was more complex, comprising small buildings, channels, towers and brick walls. These accessory utilities, together with a parcel of saltworks, were usually leased out by the bishop.<sup>58</sup> The small parcels

<sup>52</sup> Maria Adelaide Vaggioli, "Le Terme di S. Gaetano di Vada," in *Terme Romane*, 121.

<sup>53</sup> *Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*, ed. Luigi Schiaparelli, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, vol. 1, (Roma, 1929), 337.

<sup>54</sup> *Carte dell'Archivio di Stato di Pisa*, vol. 1, ed. M. D'Alessandro Nannipieri, in *Thesaurus Ecclesiarum Italiae*, vol. 7, pt. 9 [Roma, 1978], 3–7.

<sup>55</sup> *M.G.H., Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae*, 1:pt.2, 448–49.

<sup>56</sup> *Regestum Pisanum*, ed. Natale Caturegli (Roma, 1938), 45; *Carte dell'Archivio di Stato di Pisa*, 108–9; *Regestum Pisanum*, 79.

<sup>57</sup> *Rutilii Claudii Numatiani De Reditu Suo*, 1, line 475.

<sup>58</sup> *Regestum Pisanum*, 61 (March 24, 1031): "sextam portionem ex integram de Valapas de salinas in loco Campo di Vada cum catomarie, muraiolis, fossis, duas turres, omnia conciatura."



were often recorded bearing the name of the lessee himself.<sup>59</sup>

In the twelfth century, discovery of salt mines near Volterra and the natural degradation of the coast contributed to progressive transformation of the saltworks area into marshes.<sup>60</sup> Decrease in their utilization did not affect the growth of Vada's settlement, whose primary source of prosperity was by then its port. The harbor, being similar in problems and advantages to Portus Pisanus, was protected from the fury of the sea by littoral sandbanks; but there was only one natural channel of access through the shallows at its entrance. Already in the fifth century the path of that channel, one kilometer long, had to be revealed to ships by pikes with branches affixed, which were placed in the water.<sup>61</sup> Due to modern development at Vada, it has not yet been possible to find archaeological remains of the structure of its medieval port.

Because of its strategic position, in Pisan territory and along the southern marine routes, and because of its structural security, the port of Vada was used early by the Pisans. This use brought repeated attacks from 1077 by the Genoese, in an effort to damage this fortified enemy outpost.<sup>62</sup> Vada constituted both a stop for the Pisan ships and a safe refuge from the fury of the sea. But it was used also to avoid feared confrontation with enemies, as the *Annales Ianuenses* note derisively, under the year 1124: nine Pisan ships, protecting a convoy from Sardinia, took refuge in the port of Vada to escape seven Genoese ships, leaving the convoy prey to the assailants.<sup>63</sup>

The community of Vada was heavily involved on the side of Pisa in its long war with Genoa. In the treaty of 1138 the Pisan consuls swore to the Genoese that the Pisans would make the community of Vada also respect the treaty's clauses and compensate eventual damages, or, if Vada would not, to leave it to the reprisals of the Genoese.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Regestum Pisanum*, 79.

<sup>60</sup> Enrico Fiumi, "I confini della diocesi ecclesiastica, del municipio romano e dello stato etrusco di Volterra," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 126 (1968), 23–60. The saltworks were not completely abandoned and they continued to furnish salt throughout the following century (*Regestum Pisanum*, 289).

<sup>61</sup> Giulio Schmiedt, "I porti italiani nell'Alto Medioevo," *La navigazione Mediterranea nell'Alto Medioevo*, Atti della 25 settimana di studio di Spoleto, Spoleto 1977 (Spoleto, 1978), 1:129–258.

<sup>62</sup> *Annales Pisani*, 6.

<sup>63</sup> *Annales Ianuenses Cafari*, 1:21–22

<sup>64</sup> *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, 1:98–99; also in Bonaini, *Statuti inediti*

The activities of the port of Vada were facilitated by traffic along the nearby river Fine, at the time a commercial river route to the Tuscan hinterland, used with frequency also by Genoese ships.<sup>65</sup> Transit taxes on the Fine and the *placitum et fodrum* in Vada belonged to the archbishop of Pisa; together with the consuls of Vada and the monastery of San Felice of Vada, he held the highest political and economic power in the area. The presence of the Pisan commune was equally strong, but its interest particularly centered on the military defense of Vada. Already in 1164 the Pisan consuls had started a fortification, finished in 1179, encircling the settlement.<sup>66</sup>

By the end of the twelfth century the port of Vada was a fortified harbor and community lending support to Pisa, and it was connected with the city on land by a segment of the Roman Via Aurelia.<sup>67</sup> Together with Piombino, Vada was the most important Pisan settlement along the coast. In 1161 Pope Alexander III, traveling on a Pisan ship from Rome to Genoa, was solemnly honored and welcomed on Pisan soil and in the archdiocese by the archbishop of Pisa, first in Piombino and then in Vada.<sup>68</sup> During the thirteenth century the attention of the Pisan commune intensified, culminating in the establishment of the *Opera Vallivetri*, the organization for construction and maintenance of the port tower over the treacherous shallows in front of the port.<sup>69</sup>

### *Falesia/Piombino*

The settlement of Falesia, located near the entrance to the gulf, which was closed by sandbanks on the southern side of the Populonia promontory, appears as a *villa*, with fisheries in the nearby ponds, in the

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della città di Pisa, 11–12. Regarding the relations between Pisa, its archbishop, and Vada see Volpe, *Studi sulle istituzioni comunali a Pisa*, 80–83.

<sup>65</sup> *Regestum Pisanum*, 505 (August 30, 1199).

<sup>66</sup> *Breve Consulum Pisanae Civitatis*, year 1164 (Bonaini, *Statuti inediti della città di Pisa*, 40). The completion is noted in *Annales Pisani*, 30.

<sup>67</sup> M. Sordi, "La Via Aurelia da Vada a Pisa nell'Antichità," *Athenaeum*, 49 (1971), 302–47.

<sup>68</sup> *Annales Pisani*, 24.

<sup>69</sup> The decision of building this tower was taken in October–November 1279 by the highest authorities of the Pisan Commune (Bonaini, *Statuti Inediti*, 625–26). See also the *Fragmentum Historiae Pisanae* by Guido da Corbaia (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 24:68; it is published also as Guido da Valechia, *Libri Memoriales*, ed. M. Conti [la Spezia, 1973]). Under July 1280's date Guido writes: "Turris Vallivytri fuit incepta fundari seu audificari per Comune Pisanum."

fifth century.<sup>70</sup> The inlet and the sandy harbor made a natural port, recorded already in the third century; it was used as an emergency landing when the port of Populonia, on the other side of the promontory and more exposed to the sea winds, was not accessible.<sup>71</sup> Archival information on Falesia is nonexistent until 1022, when the monastery of San Giustiniano was founded here by six members of the Ghelardesca family.<sup>72</sup>

The next document, dated 1115, shows an already extensive and fortified settlement above the sea, named Plumbinum, on the rocky promontory near the monastery.<sup>73</sup> It is important to stress that in this document half the structures were given by the abbot to the *Opera*, the financial-administrative structure which superintended to the construction of the cathedral of Pisa, presided over by the city's archbishop. This was the first step for the Pisans, through their city's highest religious authority, to control this important fortified outpost on the sea facing the south of Italy. Utilizing an ecclesiastical personage or institution was a common practice designed to frustrate papal restrictions; often, it also meant to avoid protests against the conveyance of properties of religious and especially monastic foundations.

This expansionistic move of the Pisan commune immediately attracted the attention of its enemy. In 1124 seven Genoese ships, after having searched the northern Tyrrhenian Sea for Pisan ships to attack, directed themselves against Piombino. The Genoese first burned a ship that was anchored beneath the castle and then burned and destroyed the castle itself and its settlement. The inhabitants, as with Pisan citizens captured by the Genoese, were carried away as prisoners to Genoa.<sup>74</sup> The strategy of the attack indicates, in addition to the port of Falesia on the other side of the promontory, the presence already of an anchorage area beneath the castle which became in

<sup>70</sup> *Rutilii Claudii Numatiani de Reditu Suo*, lines 371–88.

<sup>71</sup> *Itinerarium maritimum*, 501.

<sup>72</sup> Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* (Milano, 1741), 3:1075–80. For the history of the monastery see Maria Luisa Ceccarelli, *Il monastero di S. Giustiniano di Falesia e il castello di Piombino (secoli XI–XIII)* (Pisa, 1972).

<sup>73</sup> Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi*, 3:117 (September 26, 1115): “castellum et rocca Plumbini quae est sita supra mare cum turribus, podio, casis, edificiis.” See also the notes by Ceccarelli, in *Il Monastero di S. Giustiniano di Falesia*, 9–13.

<sup>74</sup> *Annales Ianuenses Cafari*, 1:22–23: “(Ianuenses) Plumbinum venerunt, ibique bellum magnum dederunt, et navem unam, que ibi sub castro in terra erat... ignem posuerunt. Et castrum et burgum, igne posito, bellando ceperunt, viros et mulieres et pueros et pecuniam eiusdem castri in galeis Ianuam deduxerunt.”

the later centuries of the Middle Ages the *porticciolo*, the "little port," of Piombino.<sup>75</sup>

The castle of Piombino was immediately rebuilt by the Pisans, but it was attacked again by the Genoese with less damage, in the following year 1125, during an incursion aimed also against Vada.<sup>76</sup> In 1133 the political weight of Pisa in this area increased when Pope Innocent II conceded to the archbishop of Pisa the metropolitan dignity over the bishopric of Populonia-Massa Marittima, which included Piombino.<sup>77</sup> Two years later the archbishop acquired other parts of the castle and its annexed properties, eventually possessing five-sixths of the whole fortification and territory. The Pisan consuls, personifying by their presence the community of interests between the archbishop and the city, are listed in this deed as witnesses.<sup>78</sup>

This close relationship between the powerful mercantile city, which was oriented toward the whole Mediterranean, and this small center in the southwestern corner of its territory was very favorable to the community of Piombino itself, which was granted special commercial advantages in Pisa. A document of 1187 cites, together with the archbishop's transaction of 1135, the right of the inhabitants of Piombino not to pay transit taxes on their merchandise in Pisa.<sup>79</sup> The original year and conditions of this exemption are unknown; it is probable that it was given to insure the fidelity and favor of the community to the growing political weight of Pisa in the area.

By the middle of the twelfth century Piombino and its port had become the main base for Pisan expansion into southern Tuscany and along the sea-routes to the south;<sup>80</sup> the Pisan commune reserved a galley for its defense and was directly committed to its protection.<sup>81</sup> At the end of the twelfth century it had an impressive fortification

<sup>75</sup> Paolo Ghelardoni, *Piombino, Profilo di storia urbana* (Pisa, 1977), 21–22.

<sup>76</sup> *Annales Ianuenses Cafari*, 1:22.

<sup>77</sup> Kehr, *Italia Pontificia*, 3:271.

<sup>78</sup> *Regestum Pisanum*, 223, no. 335 (January 22, 1135); Ceccarelli, *Il monastero di S. Giustiniano di Falesia*, 18–21. About the role of the Pisan Archbishops in the territorial politics of Pisa, see Volpe, *Studi sulle istituzioni comunali a Pisa*, 10–18 and 86–88.

<sup>79</sup> Ceccarelli, *Il monastero di S. Giustiniano di Falesia*, 22.

<sup>80</sup> Ceccarelli, *Il monastero di S. Giustiniano di Falesia*, 32.

<sup>81</sup> *Annales Pisani*, year 1161, 26. The commitment by the Commune to the defense of Piombino and the coast is officially stated in the *Breve Consulum Pisanæ Civitatis* of the year 1162 (Bonaini, *Statuti Inediti*, 14) and also in the following one of 1164 (Bonaini, *Statuti Inediti*, 39).

system, equipped with various towers, to protect the ships at anchor in the harbor as well as the settlement itself. Untouched by the morphological modifications of the coast, Piombino has continued its development as a port until the present day, while the enclosed gulf of Falesia behind it became progressively silted by the sediment carried by the River Cornia. However, some parts of the gulf were still navigable and used as a docking basin up to the sixteenth century. Today all the area is reclaimed and the Cornia has its mouth directly in the sea.

Because of development of traffic along the coast, on the other side of the promontory in the harbor of deserted Populonia, a small fortified port settlement, Porto Baratti, was active at least from the end of the eleventh century. It appears in archival documentation for the first time in 1117, as an area involving properties of the powerful Ghelardesca family, who also held possessions in other parts of the coast between Piombino and Vada. In this document, *actum Porto Barattori infra ipso castello*, Porto Baratti is described as having a fortification with a small dependent settlement.<sup>82</sup>

Pisa used Porto Baratti as a stop for its ships extensively from the middle of the twelfth century, and more often in the subsequent period: this is shown by the frequency with which this harbor is represented in the portolan maps of the thirteenth and mostly the fourteenth centuries. This port never upgraded, owing to its limited dimensions and lack of massive fortification, its function as a small logistic stop for Pisan ships. Even in the following centuries Porto Baratti never equaled the importance of Vada and Piombino, and it never regained the prestige it had throughout the Etruscan and Roman republican periods, when, as Populonia's harbor, it was the main arrival point for ships full of iron from the island of Elba.

### *Motrone*

By the middle of the twelfth century, while Luni was slowly disappearing, Pisa had been successful in creating a port system which took advantage of the geomorphology of the area. Simultaneously, the Pisan commune organized a network of supporting ports along the coast south of the city, and on the islands of the archipelago.

<sup>82</sup> *Regestum Pisanum*, 175, doc. 277 (April 23, 1117).

The territorial, military, and political control by Pisa in this area was seen as extremely threatening by its two neighboring enemies, Genoa and Lucca. While Genoa focused its attacks on the Pisan marine outposts, which were dangerous for Genoese ships heading toward Corsica, Sardinia and the South of Italy, Lucca considered its commerce more directly limited by lack of direct access to the Tyrrhenian Sea. Along the coast north of Pisa and near Lucca, the mouth of the little river Motrone was the only area apt to be used by the Lucchese for construction of a small port for merchandise to and from their city. Already at the beginning of the twelfth century Lucca had tried to lay a legal foundation for commercial use of the Motrone and Serchio rivers. A diploma of Emperor Henry V forbade anyone to rob or molest any person, Lucchese or not, who was on a ship on the Motrone or on the nearby sea *causa negotiandi*.<sup>83</sup> It was later reconfirmed by Emperor Lothar III in 1133.<sup>84</sup>

The coast between Portovenere (just north of Luni) and Civitavecchia was at this time under Pisan control, even if not uniformly and constantly. This was recognized by the Genoese, who in a peace treaty with Pisa described the populations subject to the enemy as those "who inhabited the coast between Piombino and Portovenere."<sup>85</sup> In 1162 Emperor Frederick I granted the Pisans in fief this same littoral, forbidding anyone to build a port or unload merchandise *contra voluntatem Pisanorum*.<sup>86</sup> This concession, more a recognition of influence and an authorization from the emperor for future political maneuvers than an actual confirmation of firmly established possessions, reveals the plan of the Pisans for a port monopoly along this coast and established the legal basis for their claims in this sense. The Lucchese continued their project of a port in Motrone, with the direct support of the Genoese. Already in 1159 Genoa had promised to disembark salt to be sold to the Lucchese along the beach between Motrone and Luni. As experienced merchants, they inserted a clause establishing that once the salt was on the beach, it was entirely the responsibility of the Lucchese.<sup>87</sup> In 1166 an important pact

<sup>83</sup> Karl Friedrich Stumpf-Brentano, *Die Reichskanzler: vornehmlich des 10, 11 und 12 Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3: *Acta Imperii adhuc Inedita* (Innsbruck, 1865–81), 100–101.

<sup>84</sup> M.G.H., *Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae*, 8:37.

<sup>85</sup> *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, 1:164, doc. 218.

<sup>86</sup> "Conventio cum Pisanis," April 6, 1162, in *Friderici I Constitutiones, MGH Leges*, 2:284–87).

<sup>87</sup> *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, 1:374.

was signed between the two cities. In exchange for one thousand pounds, the Lucchese promised to give the Genoese two houses in the castle of Motrone as well as special conditions and protection for the selling of salt there. This Genoese money was to be used to finish the castle of Motrone, already started on the beach, with its buildings, bridges and connecting roads.<sup>88</sup>

The plan for Motrone was thus very ambitious: it provided for not only a castle, but an effective fortified commercial settlement on the sea for Lucca, with particular attention to the traffic with Genoa. The Pisan reaction to this attempt to infringe on its mercantile monopoly naturally was not favorable. In 1168 the Lucchese started to send troops to this area, while in Pisa a military expedition was being prepared.<sup>89</sup> The Pisans' first move however was to isolate Motrone, barring additional reinforcements from Lucca. An alliance between Pisa and the lords of the hinterland castles between Motrone and Lucca achieved this goal. The blockade was also enforced on the sea, to keep Genoese ships from reaching Motrone.<sup>90</sup>

As the Pisan chronicler Bernardus Maragonis narrates, Pisa launched its attack in November 1170. The first battle enabled the Pisans to destroy completely a defensive army sent as a last desperate attempt by Lucca.<sup>91</sup> Three days later, the final siege of Motrone was begun. The castle had been built on the shore as a square with a tower on each corner, a central donjon, and high walls surrounded by moats. Inside were forty-five soldiers and twenty crossbowmen. After nine days of uninterrupted fighting, the siege machinery and determination of the Pisans won. The defenders surrendered and their castle was completely destroyed. A Genoese naval squadron arrived too late for rescue and had to turn their prows back "in great sorrow."<sup>92</sup>

Nevertheless, the following year the Lucchese built another tower here with a moat. Again the Pisans attacked and destroyed it, while a Genoese galley watched without engaging itself.<sup>93</sup> The problem of

<sup>88</sup> *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, 1:40 (October 7, 1166).

<sup>89</sup> *Annales Ianuenses Oberti Cancellarii, Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, 1:209–19.

<sup>90</sup> *Annales Ianuenses Oberti Cancellarii*, 1:222–23 and 239–40.

<sup>91</sup> *Annales Pisani*, 50–51.

<sup>92</sup> The narration of Maragone lacks this part, which is narrated instead in the anonymous chronicle edited by Eleonora Orlandini, "Cronaca Pisana di autore anonimo," unpublished Tesi di Laurea, Università di Pisa, year 1966–67, 56–59.

<sup>93</sup> Orlandini, "Cronaca Pisana di autore anonimo," 68.

Motrone was resolved, at least for the twelfth century, by a peace treaty between Pisa and Lucca in 1181. The Pisans obliged themselves to share the revenues of the mint, salt custom, and offloading and commercial tolls, while guaranteeing that their ships were to charge the same prices to Lucchese as to Pisa citizens. The Lucchese, on the other hand, swore not to build any structure or allow any commercial transaction from Luni to Pisa, on the coast or its hinterland.<sup>94</sup> This part of the deal held as long as Pisa had enough power to enforce it. Later, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Pisan influence had vanished, Motrone emerged again as a mercantile station for Florentine and Lucchese merchandise.<sup>95</sup>

At the end of the twelfth century Pisa was able to preserve its monopoly on mercantile traffic and ports along the coast between Luni and Piombino, limiting the influence of both Genoa and Lucca. Its port system and network of auxiliary ports functioned extremely well, and the city was at the height of its political and mercantile supremacy in the Western Mediterranean. But the road to its final defeat was already clear. The accord between Lucca and Genoa was growing stronger and more dangerous. This alliance, together with later Florentine intervention, was going to weaken Pisa, supporter of the Empire surrounded by cities partisan to the papacy, and to leave its port prey to geomorphological degradation, thus sharing at the end the same destiny as the port of Luni.

### *Conclusions*

This interdisciplinary and comparative study of the northern Tuscan coast has shown some common patterns and conditions for the development of these ports. First, the importance of the geomorphological characteristics of the area in which a port was located must be stressed. The most favorable sites were sandy, *and* near the mouths of the rivers, which guaranteed easy connections with the hinterland. They all were protected from strong direct winds, and were also easy to fortify against enemy action. Shallow gulfs at rivers' mouths, while being adequate for the limited draft of medieval ships, also meant the presence of lagoons, to be used as docking basins. Second, such geomorphological settings were particularly fragile and their

<sup>94</sup> *Annales Pisani*, 72.

<sup>95</sup> Paolo Pelù, *Motrone di Versilia* (Lucca, 1974), 63–110.



balance was easily unsettled by both natural and human factors. For Luni, the degradation started in the earliest centuries of the Middle Ages, and reached its maximum in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This was the reason why, notwithstanding favorable political and commercial—the city was the seat of a powerful archbishopric and also nestled along the Via Francigena—factors, the port of Luni never fully developed in the Middle Ages, and the city had to be abandoned in the same period when nearby maritime cities, like Pisa and Genoa, were flourishing.

Pisa was also located near the mouth of a river, surrounded by wetlands: but because here the process of silting was slower, the city was able to develop and organize, already in the mid-twelfth century, a port system that brilliantly exploited the local geomorphology. The risk of silting started to become critical at a later period than in Luni, when the commune of Pisa had already enough political and economic power to halt and correct the degradation with proper laws and maintenance operations. In fact, when Pisa was being weakened and suffocated by its rivals Genoa and Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, upkeep and control on the geomorphological conditions of Portus Pisanus, as well as the channels and wetlands around the city, which turned into unhealthy marshes, gradually deteriorated. The harbor itself slowly decayed and disappeared to a point that, when the Medicean state needed a powerful outlet on the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century, it had to be founded *de novo* in nearby Livorno.

In the cases of Falesia/Piombino and Vada, favorable geomorphological conditions, such as small but protected natural harbors, again permitted the development of the ports and of dependent settlements. The vicinity of Pisa stimulated their growth as auxiliary ports, and they benefited from military, commercial, and political privileges. Motrone presented the same situation, but in reverse. Located on the mouth of a small river but also in a disputed area between two enemy powers, it was never allowed to grow to the dimensions of Vada or Piombino.

Lastly, the presence of commercial routes, as in the case of Luni, appears to be secondary to the importance of geomorphological conditions even if the decay of a principal economic function, when not replaced—as in the case of the iron routes directed to the Etruscan and then Roman Populonia—may cause the decline of the port itself. The geography of the area, both in relation to geomorphological

features and to the location of dominant political centers, stands out as the main factor in the development of ports in this area of the Mediterranean during the central centuries of the Middle Ages. It suggests a promising direction for future research on other Western Mediterranean ports.

## LOANS, LAND, AND JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF TOLEDO

*Nina Melechen*

On the thirteenth of August in the year 1357, Juan Alfonso, a Christian citizen of Alcabón—a town about twenty miles northwest of Toledo in Castile—lost a vineyard which was seized and sold at court order to repay a longstanding debt of four hundred maravedis to a Jewish creditor, Abraham ibn Halegua. Don Abraham had convinced a judge that Juan Alfonso owed him this substantial sum, although Juan Alfonso maintained that the debt had long been repaid but that the Jew had maliciously refused to give him the document proving it.<sup>1</sup> This case seems to be an example of the official protection of greedy and destructive Jewish behavior about which Castilian Christians of the day frequently complained, and which formed part of the rallying cry of the Trastámaras in the Civil War that was soon to follow.<sup>2</sup> It has long been understood that rhetorical attacks on the usurious activities of Jews must be taken with a grain of salt, and historians have recently begun to examine the complex activities and

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<sup>1</sup> The vineyard ultimately came into the possession of the Augustinian convent of Santa Ursula in Toledo, which preserved the record of the case and the ensuing sale. These and all other references to the case are taken from Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional [hereafter AHN], Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 13 (August 13, 1357), unless otherwise noted. See the Appendix for the text of this document. Everyone involved in this case lived in a cluster of towns—Maqueda, Torrijos, Santa Olalla—each about four to seven miles from Alcabón. All the towns were governed according to the *Fuero* of Toledo; that is, according to the *Fuero Juzgo*, the vernacular translation of the Visigothic Code.

The Juan Alfonso who lost the vineyard was referred to in local documents as “Juan Alfonso son of Alfonso Esteban” to distinguish him from other men of the same name who were active in Alcabón. Abraham, the son of Yuda ibn Halegua, was generally referred to as “don Abraham.” The title “don” was routinely applied to Jews in Castilian documents of the period, and does not indicate any special rank within the Jewish community or in the eyes of Christians. Its feminine counterpart, “doña,” was often applied to women, whether Jewish or Christian. See Manuel Ferrer-Chivite, “El factor judeo-converso en el proceso de consolidación del título ‘Don’,” *Sefarad*, 45 (1985), 133–34, 140–41.

<sup>2</sup> For the complaints by the representatives of Castilian Christian townspeople about Jewish moneylending, see the discussion below. Julio Valdeón Barúque, in his book *Los judíos de Castilla y la revolución Trastámara* (Valladolid, 1968), discusses the motivations for and the results of the Trastámaras’ anti-Jewish stance.

emotions that could connect medieval borrowers and lenders.<sup>3</sup> But does the case of Juan Alfonso represent the fire underlying all the polemical smoke? Were many Castilians indeed the prey of hostile, rapacious creditors? An examination of the case reveals some of the actual practice of moneylending and shows that Jewish-Christian relations in Castile during the 1350s were not so simple.

The case in Alcabón, fortunately for this study, was recorded by Pero Gonçalves, the public scribe of the town. He not only noted the events of the case; he also copied the documents offered as evidence and transcribed the testimony given by the witnesses.<sup>4</sup> According to his record, the episodes had occurred over the course of several years. On November 4, 1351, Juan Alfonso had bought five hundred maravedis worth of cloth on credit from the Jew Çag Mohep of Maqueda, a member of a notable family of businessmen and financiers.<sup>5</sup> Five hundred maravedis was a large sum, so don Çag required his debtor to provide a *fador*, or guarantor. Juan Alfonso was

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Joseph Shatzmiller, *Shylock Reconsidered: Jews, Moneylending, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990); Elaine Clark, "Debt Litigation in a Late Medieval English Vill," in *Pathways to Medieval Peasants*, ed. J. Ambrose Rafus (Toronto, 1981), 247–79; William Chester Jordan, "Jews on Top: Women and the Availability of Consumption Loans in Northern France in the Mid-Thirteenth Century," *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 29 (1978), 39–56; idem, "Jewish-Christian Relations in Mid-Thirteenth Century France: An Unpublished 'Enquête' from Picardy," *Revue des études juives*, 128 (1979), 47–55; idem, "An Aspect of Credit in Picardy in the 1240s: The Deterioration of Jewish-Christian Financial Relations," *Revue des études juives*, 142 (1983), 141–52; idem, "Women and Credit in the Middle Ages: Problems and Directions," *Journal of European Economic History*, 17 (1988), 33–62; idem, *Women and Credit in Pre-Industrial and Developing Societies* (Philadelphia, 1993), 13–49.

On the activities of Spanish Jews before the deposition of Pedro the Cruel, see, for example, Valdeón Barúque, *Los judíos de Castilla*.

<sup>4</sup> Pero Gonçalves also occasionally acted as the local agent, or *mayordomo*, of Diago Gonçalves, the archdean of Talavera. Diago Gonçalves provided the money used to purchase Juan Alfonso's vineyard, which may be why Pero Gonçalves presented such an extensive summary of the case; see AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2986, no. 11 (August 25, 1359). The archdean and the scribe were apparently not relatives, despite the coincidence of their patronymics.

<sup>5</sup> The Moheps were prominent in Toledo beginning in the thirteenth century. Abulhasan Yehuda Mohep, the son of Abishac, was active as a moneylender during the early 1250s (e.g., AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3057, no. 1 [October 12, 1241] and AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3058, no. 13 [January 27, 1249]); his cousin, Abishac Mohep, the son of Ibrahim, was similarly active at the same time (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3058, no. 16 [January 7, 1250]; AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3059, no. 4 [September 29, 1251]; and AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3060, no. 2 [September 15, 1253]); and Abuomar Mohep, son of the aforementioned Abulhasan Yehuda, was mentioned in 1274 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3064, no. 2 [April 3, 1274]). Don Meir Mohep frequently rented the revenues of the cathedral of Toledo during the

a fairly prosperous man, respected in Alcabón. He owned several vineyards, was active on a small scale in the local land market, and during the previous decade had been asked to witness several contracts.<sup>6</sup> When required to name a *fiador*, he turned to a neighbor of about the same economic status as himself, another solid but not wealthy landowner who was known for helping his friends in this way. What is surprising is that Juan Alfonso's choice was not another

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1290s (Archivo de la Catedral de Toledo [hereafter ACT], A.3.A.1.22i [November 25, 1293]; ACT, A.7.G.2.19 [May 18, 1295]; and ACT, A.7.G.2.29 [October 23, 1296]).

Between 1342 and 1364, don Yehuda Mohep, son of Abraham and possibly a grandson of the Abishac Mohep mentioned above, also rented the cathedral's revenues (ACT, V.6.K.1.5 [April 21, 1342]; ACT, X.11.C.2.22 [December 16, 1342]; AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3028, no. 17 [April 27, 1352]; ACT, Obra y Fábrica, Posesiones del Refitor, Libro 927, fol. 24v. [1354]; and AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3029, no. 2 [November 25, 1364]) and owned property in Toledo (ACT, O.10.B.3.6 [March 8, 1356]).

By the middle of the fourteenth century some family members had settled in nearby smaller towns to the northeast and northwest, forming a local business network (or perhaps two overlapping networks). Clara, the daughter of don Yehuda Mohep of Toledo, was married to don Mosé el Sherif, who in 1356 was a resident of Ocaña (March 30, 1356; confirmation of ACT, O.10.B.3.6 [March 8, 1356]). Abraham Mohep of Torrijos, who was called as a witness in the case between Juan Alfonso and Abraham ibn Halegua, also acted as a local agent of the cathedral in 1348 (ACT, Obra y Fábrica, Cuentas de Varios Conceptos, Libro 326, fol. 3r. [May 23, 1348]) and lent money in 1357 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 16 [February 14, 1358]). Frayme Mohep, a financier in Veles, was active in 1351 (ACT, A.10.E.1.7 [January 2, 1351]). Çag Mohep, the son of Mosé, represented the family in Maqueda.

<sup>6</sup> The Alcabón land market was quite active during the 1350s. Several factors contributed to the activity. The town was significantly depopulated and could not maintain a market even before the appearance of the Black Death: on December 20, 1345, Alfonso XI of Castile excused its residents from a yearly tribute of six hundred maravedis for this reason (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 4). The outbreak of plague in the summer of 1349 only aggravated this condition. The survivors, however, were quick to buy up the now ownerless land.

In addition, competition for property was spurred by the activities of Diago Gonçalves, the archdean of Talavera. Diago Gonçalves was perhaps the largest landowner in and around Alcabón during the 1350s, and he owned considerable property in Toledo as well. He was a member of a wealthy family in Toledo (see AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 6, for his division of his late parents' property with his siblings, niece, and nephew on August 10, 1347), and left property to a number of relatives and religious institutions in the diocese when he died in 1360 (his will is dated January 2, 1360; see AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2986, no. 14). In Alcabón, he was probably assisted in making his purchases cheaply by his *mayordomo* Pero Gonçalves (see AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2986, no. 11 [August 25, 1359]), who as the public scribe of the municipality was ideally placed to know what properties were being auctioned or sold and what prices were being offered for them.

Juan Alfonso the son of Alfonso Esteban participated in the land market in a

Christian, but was the Jew Abraham ibn Halegua.<sup>7</sup> In their *carta de fiadura*, the document recording the surety, both Juan Alfonso and don Abraham promised that if the cloth was not paid for within a month, Çag Mohep could collect the five hundred maravedis, plus a ten-maravedi-per-day late fee, from the property of either of them.<sup>8</sup> The *carta* also stipulated that if Juan Alfonso defaulted on his payment to the seller, he would at least eventually repay his *fiador*.

Çag Mohep had been right to doubt Juan Alfonso; he did not pay his bill on time. This can not have been the result of poverty, however, since another document reveals that about two months after the five hundred maravedis were due he and his wife, María Blasco, had six hundred maravedis which they used to buy some houses in Alcabón from Catalina Alfonso the daughter of Alfonso Ruys, a resident of Toledo.<sup>9</sup> Whatever its cause, indebtedness did not harm Juan Alfonso's standing in Alcabón. For several years he continued

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number of ways before and during 1357. He sold a vineyard to the archdean of Talavera for two hundred maravedis on January 21, 1350 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 14). He and his wife María Blasco bought houses in Alcabón for six hundred maravedis on February 17, 1352 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 17). He witnessed sales of property on January 18, 1343 (ACT, A.2.G.1.6a), on November 6, 1343 (ACT, A.2.G.1.8), on January 26, 1344 (ACT, A.2.G.1.13), and on February 10, 1347 (ACT, A.2.G.1.16). He was referred to in other sales as a neighboring landowner (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 9 [December 13, 1356, and February 26, 1357]).

<sup>7</sup> There are no surviving records of Abraham ibn Halegua participating actively in land transactions, but it is known that he did act as a *fiador* for the Jew Jacob Castellano of Maqueda on August 14, 1352, in a sale that evidently had no later complications (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 18). He had also been mentioned in documents of sale as an owner of neighboring property (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 4 [March 30, 1355]).

<sup>8</sup> The *carta de fiadura* was written by Juan Alvares, the public scribe of Maqueda, the home of Çag Mohep and where Abraham ibn Halegua then lived. (Don Abraham later moved to Alcabón.) It was copied into Pero Gonçalves's record of the case, made in 1357. The late fee it mentions was one standard Castilian method of attempting to get around restrictions on collecting interest. The yearly rate of interest approved by the Cortes was three for four, or 33.3%. Though this amount seems terribly large, the interest that actually accumulated on short-term loans never amounted to very much; see Jordan, "Women and Credit in the Middle Ages," 37. If Juan Alfonso had borrowed six hundred maravedis in cash for a month, he would have owed sixteen maravedis and seven dineros in interest. The usual late fee, however, was five or ten maravedis per day, often in addition to a payment of double the principal. Obviously, if Çag Mohep expected the repayment to be late, he would prefer to collect a late fee which would very quickly be far more valuable than interest. In practice, however, interest and late fees were equally difficult to collect.

<sup>9</sup> This purchase was not mentioned in the official record of the case, but is revealed by a bill of sale (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 17) dated February 17, 1352.

to witness contracts and to be mentioned as a local landowner.<sup>10</sup> When Çag Mohep went to court to get his money, he found it easier to seize a vineyard of don Abraham's to cover the four hundred maravedis still due than to touch Juan Alfonso's property.<sup>11</sup> So the cloth was paid for, but Juan Alfonso now owed money to his *fiador*.

Abraham ibn Halegua's vineyard was worth between nine hundred and one thousand maravedis, and he did receive the amount left over after don Çag had been paid. But when he asked Juan Alfonso to reimburse him for his loss of four hundred maravedis, as promised in the *carta de fiadura*, Juan Alfonso regularly declined to do so. In exasperation, the official record tells us, don Abraham now declared that he had never wanted to make the *fiadura* in the first place. Finally, on Monday, January 23, 1357, more than five years after the original purchase, the two men approached their friend, the archpriest of nearby Santa Olalla, who agreed to arbitrate between them. In a document that Pero Gonçalves later copied into the record of the case, the parties involved agreed to accept the archpriest's decision, whether or not it was in accordance with law and custom, as legally binding. By this time, evidently, Juan Alfonso was as willing as Abraham ibn Halegua to have the problem resolved, since otherwise he could have refused to agree to arbitration.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> On December 29, 1356 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 7); on December 31, 1356 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 8); and on December 13, 1356 and February 26, 1357 (both in AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 9).

<sup>11</sup> The record of the case actually calls the land Çag Mohep seized a *majuelo*, or newly-planted vineyard, rather than a *viña*, or mature vineyard. But once a plot had entered the records as a *majuelo*, it tended to continue to appear as one, no matter how old the planting was; thus, considering its value, Abraham ibn Halegua's land must have been a producing vineyard.

No record of the seizure and sale of Abraham ibn Halegua's vineyard has survived, probably because it was sold to a private individual and not to a religious institution. But don Abraham reported the loss as part of his complaint, and Juan Alfonso did not dispute it. Çag Mohep's actions in confiscating Abraham ibn Halegua's property were taken despite the Jewish *halakhic* prohibition of causing unnecessary damage to other Jews, especially where the community's reputation in the eyes of outsiders was concerned.

<sup>12</sup> The archpriest of Santa Olalla, who was also named Juan Alfonso, was a familiar figure in Alcabón in the mid-1350s. At this period he sometimes acted as a witness to contracts written there, for example on December 31, 1356, and February 26, 1357, with Juan Alfonso the son of Alfonso Esteban as another witness (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 9), and on April 22, 1358 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 18). Juan Alfonso the son of Alfonso Esteban might have expected the archpriest to be sympathetic to a debtor's problems, since his caretaker (*casera*), Juana García, was herself in the middle of a lawsuit involving an orchard she had unwittingly purchased from a couple who had previously pledged it to cover a debt

On Wednesday, February 15, 1357, the parties presented their claims and documents. Abraham ibn Halegua rehearsed the facts described above and entered the original *carta de fiadura* as evidence.<sup>13</sup> Juan Alfonso told a very different story. He claimed that don Abraham had been his *fiador* not for five hundred maravedis but for 450, of which he himself had paid four hundred to Çag Mohep, so that don Abraham had had to pay only fifty maravedis; and Juan Alfonso said he had often assured don Abraham that he would give him those fifty maravedis if his neighbor would only give him the *carta de fiadura* to cancel the debt.

Juan Alfonso then called seven Christian and two Jewish witnesses. One was an important official in Alcabón, the *alcalde* Juan Esteban; one was a local priest, Anton Domingues; one was part of the wealthy Jewish Mohep family, don Abraham Mohep of Torrijos. There were also Sancho Ferrandes, Domingo Alfonso, Pero Dias, Juan Vasques, and Pascual García, all Christian citizens of Alcabón; and the Jew don Çag Astilleja of Santa Olalla.<sup>14</sup> The witnesses took their oaths—

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to Abraham Mohep of Torrijos (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 16 [February 14, 1358]).

Arbitration of the type resorted to by Juan Alfonso and Abraham ibn Halegua was not unusual, and was one way to circumvent the *Fuero Juzgo*, the law current in Toledo and Alcabón. Book XII, title ii, law 9 of the *Fuero Juzgo* stated that no Jew could sue a Christian: “Establescemos especialmente en este decreto que ningund judío . . . en ningun pleyto non pueda facer tormentar el cristiano, nin acusar. Ca desguisada cosa semeia, que la fêe daquellos que non son fieles, vala mas que la fêe de los fieles, è los miembros de Cristo someter á aquellos que son sus adversarios” (*Fuero Juzgo en latín y castellano, cotejado con los mas antiguos y preciosos códices*, ed. Real Academia Española [Madrid, 1815]).

The parties had originally entered their suit in Toledo before the *alcalde* Alfonso Yuaes. Respect for the law was probably not the major concern when the parties later decided to bring the matter closer to home, since in doing so they again contravened the *Fuero Juzgo*, which stated (in II.ii.5) that cases once begun could not be removed from one judge to another, nor could the parties settle out of court: “Que despues quel pleyto es antel iuez, las partes non deven fazer composicion entre sí sin mandado del iuez.” More likely the motivations included a reluctance to travel back and forth to Toledo, and a desire to be judged by an acquaintance who knew all the parties. Another consideration would have been the cost, as the archpriest did not charge anything for his participation in the affair.

<sup>13</sup> The record of the case does not describe what steps the archpriest took to authenticate the *carta de fiadura*, but it had been written and signed by Juan Alvares, the public scribe of Maqueda. His hand must have been familiar both to the arbiter and to Pero Gonçalves, the public scribe of Alcabón, who copied the *carta de fiadura* into his own official record. Moreover, Juan Alfonso son of Alfonso Esteban, the debtor in the case, did not challenge it as a forgery. *Fuero Juzgo*, II.iv.3 and II.v.1 recommend questioning the scribe and the witnesses to authenticate a document, and comparing the hands “por veer si semeia la una letra con el otra.”

<sup>14</sup> All the witnesses were thus of status equal to or greater than that of the parties



the Christians on the Gospels, the Jews on the Torah—and were questioned on Monday, February 20, 1357.<sup>15</sup>

Five of the witnesses claimed to know nothing at all about the case. It is interesting, though not necessarily significant, that two of these five were connected with the participants in this case in other ways. One of them, Abraham Mohep of Torrijos, was a cousin of Çag Mohep of Maqueda, the original creditor. Abraham Mohep was also involved in a lawsuit that affected Juana García, the caretaker of Juan Alfonso the archpriest of Santa Olalla, the arbiter in this case. Another of the unproductive witnesses, Juan Vasques, later acted as the agent of the archdean of Talavera in purchasing the vineyard confiscated as a result of this case.

Those witnesses who did have evidence all testified to overhearing a conversation about a debt between Juan Alfonso and Abraham ibn Halegua. It is not clear from the record of their testimony whether they had all heard the same conversation or had heard separate conversations on the same topic. None of them could specify the day or date this occurred, though all agreed that it took place in the plaza of Alcabón. Nor did any of them speak of the original purchase of cloth, and Çag Mohep was not called as a witness. The evidence generally supported Juan Alfonso's contention that the parties were disputing about a *carta* for 450 maravedis, on which only fifty maravedis were still due. But some of the evidence suggested that the discussion that had been overheard was not about the *carta* resulting from Juan Alfonso's purchase of cloth, but was about some

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involved, thereby conforming to the legal standard of what manner of witnesses should be believed and disbelieved. *Fuero Juzgo*, II.iv.3, described good witnesses: "El iuez non deve catar soamiente si son las testimonias de buen linage, mas deve catar si son omnes de buena vida, é de buen fama, é de buenas costumbres, é ricos omnes," and II.iv.1 described bad ones: "Los omizeros, é los sorteros, é los siervos, é los ladrones, é los pecadores, é los que dan yervas, é los que fuerzan las muieres, é los que dixieron falso testimonio, é los que van por pedir conseio á las sorteras: estos non deven recibir por testimonio en nenguna manera."

According to the Latin version of the *Fuero Juzgo*, the *Forum Judicum*, Juan Alfonso the archpriest was a little irregular in his conduct of the case, as II.i.21 instructed him to interrogate the witnesses before examining the documents ("Iudex, ut bene causam agnoscat, primum testes interroget, deinde scripturas requirat"), but in the Castilian version of the same law this distinction was omitted ("E iudez que bien quisiere oyr el pleyto, deve primeramente saber la verdat de los testimonios, si los oviere en el pleyto, ó del escripto si lo y oviere").

<sup>15</sup> It is not clear whether the Jews took the so-called Jewish Oath, a long, humiliating, and self-accusatory declaration mandated in 1268 by the Cortes of Jerez (*Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*, 5 vols., ed. Real Academia de la Historia [Madrid, 1861-1903], 1:82-84 [cl. 46]; this work will hereafter be cited as *CLC*).

other loan, in which the town council, or *concejo*, had had some part. And some of the testimony indicated that Juan Alfonso was not as eager as he claimed to be to repay the fifty maravedis he admitted to owing.

Pero Dias recounted that he had once heard Juan Alfonso ask Abraham ibn Halegua, "Why don't you give me that *carta*?" and that don Abraham had said, "Give me fifty maravedis and I will." Sancho Ferrandes quoted Juan Alfonso as asking for "*aquella carta por muerte o por vida*" for the four hundred maravedis he claimed already to have paid, and quoted Abraham ibn Halegua as promising that when Juan Alfonso paid him fifty maravedis he would turn over a *carta* for the whole amount. In Sancho Ferrandes's version of the conversation, the *carta* was one the *concejo* had taken out for necessities ("que auia sacado el *concejo* para menesteres que ouo"). Juan Esteban the *alcalde* had heard a very similar conversation, and had heard that the four hundred maravedis had been paid to don Çag Mohep, but did not report that the *concejo* was involved. Domingo Alfonso also declared that the *carta* he had heard discussed was for 450 maravedis, of which Juan Alfonso had paid four hundred, but he told of Abraham ibn Halegua initiating the conversation and asking Juan Alfonso to give him his fifty maravedis in exchange for the *carta*.

The archpriest gave his decision on the following Monday, February 27, after consultation with "omes buenos sabidores en derecho." He noted that the *carta* don Abraham had given as evidence was inarguably for five hundred maravedis, but that the witnesses all had testified about a *carta* for 450 maravedis. The presumption must be that don Abraham had been Juan Alfonso's *fiador* or had lent him money on more than one occasion, and had been fully repaid on none. This would have been in character for both parties. Juan Alfonso, it has been seen, had already failed to pay a five-hundred-maravedi debt although he had the money to do so; Abraham ibn Halegua, in turn, had more than once acted as a *fiador* in the early 1350s.<sup>16</sup>

Juan Alfonso was therefore ordered to pay don Abraham the four hundred maravedis still due on the *carta de fiadura*, plus fifty maravedis

<sup>16</sup> For Juan Alfonso buying houses when his debt for cloth was overdue, see AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 17 (February 17, 1352). For Abraham ibn Halegua acting as a *fiador* for the Jew Jacob Castellano of Maqueda, see AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 18 (August 14, 1352). On this occasion, don Abraham was the *fiador*

in costs, within nine days.<sup>17</sup> But he was as reluctant to pay as ever, though it took much more than nine days for this to become clear. On or before Monday, June 24, 1357, four months later, don Abraham returned to the arbiter and stated that he had not yet been paid; he asked that some of Juan Alfonso's property be confiscated and sold to clear the debt. The archpriest agreed, and used the authority granted him in the *compromiso* establishing the arbitration to have a vineyard of Juan Alfonso's seized. He ordered that it be announced for auction and that bids for it be taken for thirty days.<sup>18</sup>

Only the highest bid for Juan Alfonso's property, five hundred maravedis, was noted in the record of the case. The highest bidder was Juan Vasques, who had been one of the witnesses in the case and was now acting as the agent of the archdean of Talavera.<sup>19</sup> On July 31 Juan Alfonso was given a last chance to save his land by paying what he owed or to find a higher bidder, but he failed to do so, and the sale was finalized on August 13, 1357. Don Abraham received his 450 maravedis and gave Juan Alfonso the *carta de fiadura*; Juan Alfonso also got the remaining fifty maravedis from the sale.

All the parties to the case remained in Alcabón. For a year or two, Juan Alfonso continued to be mentioned in documents as a local landowner and witnessed contracts. In addition, he and María Blasco sold yet another vineyard to the archdean of Talavera in 1358.<sup>20</sup>

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for a seller, not a purchaser; Jacob Castellano was selling an olive grove and some land in Alcabón to the archdean of Talavera. The Toledan custom (known as *marjadrac*) was to demand that those who sold property guarantee to the buyer that it had not been pledged to cover a debt (as had been the case with Juana Garcia's purchase; see note 12 above) and was safe from other liens and lawsuits, and if they did not have other property of sufficient value to guarantee it they were asked to provide a *fiador* who did. Jacob Castellano's land was indeed free from other claims, and Abraham ibn Halegua was never called on to reimburse the purchaser.

<sup>17</sup> This decision, at least, was in accordance with the *Fuero Juzgo*, II.i.21, which directed that the evidence of written documents be believed before the testimony of witnesses ("Ca esto semeia mayor derecho, que el escripto venga primeramente por saber la verdat, é depues venga el iuramiento si fuere menester").

<sup>18</sup> The document recording the case calls this vineyard, like that of Abraham ibn Halegua, a *majuelo*. The archpriest's temporary authority was acknowledged by the town officials, who allowed Gonçalo Martínez, a messenger of the magistracy ("portero del oficio dela alcaidia en Alcauon"), to carry out the task.

<sup>19</sup> Juan Vasques was named as the buyer in the record of the case, but on August 20, 1357, he testified in a separate document that in making the purchase he had acted as the agent for Diago Gonçales, the archdean of Talavera (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 14).

<sup>20</sup> Juan Alfonso was mentioned as a neighbor in a charter of May 28, 1358 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2986, no. 3) and witnessed a rental on August 25, 1359 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2986, no. 11). Together with his wife, María Blasco, he sold a

Abraham ibn Halegua, having learned from experience, apparently ceased to act as a *fiador*, but he was mentioned as a neighbor in various charters until 1376.<sup>21</sup> The archpriest of Santa Olalla remained a respected figure in the area.<sup>22</sup> There is no evidence that don Abraham and Juan Alfonso cooperated again. Nor, it seems, did Juan Alfonso and the archpriest, who had done so as recently as the very day before the archpriest delivered his decision, ever again witness a document together.<sup>23</sup>

The case between Abraham ibn Halegua and Juan Alfonso was in many ways typical of the debts incurred in and around fourteenth-century Toledo. One common feature in most of these cases, which cannot be discussed here in detail, is the thorough knowledge of local law shown by the individuals involved. Their knowledge was reflected not by the propriety of the procedure, however, but by its impropriety: these men alternately used, got around, or specifically renounced the laws of Alcabón, Toledo, and Castile in order to act as they wished. Specific examples of the use and avoidance of the law in this case can be found in the notes above. A more general renunciation of law was made in the *compromiso* between Abraham ibn Halegua and Juan Alfonso, who gave the archpriest permission to find a resolution to their disagreement whether or not it was according to law.<sup>24</sup> The *compromiso* also contained specific renunciations of the laws concerning arbitration that were, in its words, contrary to their agreement.<sup>25</sup>

The concept that law was potentially in violation of their agreement, rather than being potentially infringed by it, seems to sum up the medieval Castilian idea of legality. The belief exhibited by Juan

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vineyard to the archdean of Talavera on November 15, 1358 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2986, no. 5).

<sup>21</sup> On August 25, 1359 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2986, no. 11), October 5, 1376 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3118, no. 5), and November 17, 1376 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3118, no. 7). His descendants remained in the area at least until the 1470s. An Abraham Alegua lived in La Puebla and a Yuçaf Abenalegua lived in Maqueda in 1469 (AHN, Clero, papeles, legajo 7050 [October 8, 1469]), and a Jaco Abenhalegua lived in La Puebla in 1479 (ACT, Obra y Fábrica, Diezmos, libro 357, not paginated).

<sup>22</sup> See AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 16 (February 14, 1358).

<sup>23</sup> On February 26, 1357 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 9).

<sup>24</sup> "Et que [Juan Alfonso the arbiter] nos libre en qual manera el quisiere y por bien touiere, guardando la orden del derecho o non guardandola."

<sup>25</sup> "Et otrosy renunçiamos las dichas partes la ley de varon bueno que fabla en los compromisos y toda otra ley escripta o non escripta en fuero o en derecho que contra sea desta carta que nos non vala."

Alfonso and don Abraham, that legality was what they accepted rather than what was officially promulgated, was typical. Since their undertakings were agreed on and recorded, they were considered to be as legal as if they were technically in accordance with the law; the magistrates of Alcabón accepted them as such, and enforced them as much as they did any law—though the level of enforcement of loan agreements, at least, was low.

This rather cavalier view of legality is only one of the ways in which Juan Alfonso's dealings with Abraham ibn Halegua were representative of credit transactions in the archdiocese of Toledo during the fourteenth century. As in this case, debts often resulted from a sale on credit, not from a straightforward loan at interest. They were usually incurred for business purposes, rather than to provide subsistence. Recovery of a bad debt took years, and the amount eventually collected was laughably small when compared to the legal rate of interest and the stipulations recorded in contracts. Most importantly, in view of the stereotypes, the records show Jews and Christians interacting in business and friendship in a variety of ways. They cooperated with and supported each other as much as they sought to profit from one another.

We do not have detailed information about the financial transactions of this time and place. Small-scale consumption loans were often not recorded, or their records do not survive, for a variety of reasons. Such loans were often made between family members or close friends, who felt it unnecessary to record them; they were usually repaid on time, so any contracts they did generate were destroyed; and even when they were not paid, collecting them was not worth the costs involved except when a number of bad debts could be dealt with at once.<sup>26</sup> Of course, many moderate- and large-sized loans also were made in the diocese of Toledo at this period, but the notarial registers which would have allowed us to analyze them in full either were not maintained or have not survived. But we do have eight other references to debt from the area encompassing Toledo and the towns to its northwest between 1350 and 1360, which confirm several features of the case that has been examined here.

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<sup>26</sup> See Jordan, "Women and Credit in the Middle Ages," 38, for a discussion of this problem. For an instance of the collection of several old, small debts at once, see the case of the heirs of Marina Ferrandes, which will be discussed below.

Four of the debts from the area explicitly resulted from giving credit. When he died in 1352, Martín Ferrandes Pantoja of Toledo owed 3,005 maravedis to Domingo Peres and his sister Orabuena Gonçalves, residents of Magaraveda, a town in the archdiocese, for an enclosed farm property with its outbuildings and some cattle. This debt was repaid by Mayor Gutierrez, the widow of Martín Ferrandes Pantoja, and by their children, Juan, Gutierre, Martín, and María. Both families were Christian.<sup>27</sup> A few years later Alvar Lopes, an official of the Cathedral Chapter of Toledo, incurred a debt of 2,220 maravedis, six dineros, and four *mezcales* to his own chapter by acting as the *fiador* for the Jew Yehuda Mohep of Toledo, who rented some of the cathedral's revenues from 1355 to 1357 but did not collect as much money as he had predicted.<sup>28</sup> The third case saw Juan Ferrandes Carriello, the son of a former *alcalde mayor* of Toledo, Ferrando Dias, buy some houses on credit from Diago Gonçalves, the archdean of Talavera, in 1357. He still owed him three thousand maravedis a year later.<sup>29</sup> Finally, Sancha Martines, a Christian widow from a suburb of Toledo, bought 320 maravedis-worth of wax on credit from Yuçaf ibn Vivo, a Jew of Toledo, on November 26, 1359; on May 28, 1361, she sold property worth three hundred maravedis to finish paying him.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3015, no. 10 (September 23, 1352). Martín Ferrandes Pantoja was the son of Alfonso Martines Pantoja, a knight of Toledo, and his sister Marina Alfonso had married into the prominent Cervatos family of Toledo. Yet he had frequently been in debt. Since his mother was often associated with his earlier loans, his indebtedness may have been due to expenses incurred when he was a minor. On May 15, 1337, he renegotiated a previous loan of six hundred maravedis from don Çuleman Abudarham so that his mother doña Teresa was no longer liable for it, and on June 4, 1339, he acknowledged his and his mother's debts of more than 380 maravedis to don Yuçaf Aben Ziza, son of don Yhuda. (See Toledo, Archivo del Monasterio de San Clemente, carp. 12, no. 5, and carp. 12, no. 14, respectively.) In fact, the relative oddity of a debt to a brother and sister suggests that the money he owed at his death may also have been the result of a purchase made much earlier, from the parents of Domingo Peres and Orabuena Gonçalves. The date of the sale is not mentioned in the document that records the payment.

<sup>28</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3209, no. 2 (November 25, 1364). The debt was due from the cathedral's right in the *almojarifazgo* from 1355 to 1357. Alvar Lopes was the chapter's *racionero*, or chief financial official, and thus the overseer of its income. Yehuda Mohep was the head of the family of financiers and businessmen, with branches not only in Toledo but also in the towns of Ocaña, Torrijos, and Veles, discussed in note 5 above. Çag Mohep of Maqueda, whose sale of cloth to Juan Alfonso of Alcabón started the case between Juan Alfonso and Abraham ibn Halegua, was his cousin.

<sup>29</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2986, no. 1 (April 29, 1358). The actual price of the houses is not mentioned in this document.

<sup>30</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3072, no. 10 (May 28, 1361). Sancha Martines was

The precise purposes of two other debts were not stated, but their size makes it clear that they were not subsistence loans. Juan Dias of Illescas, a Christian servant or client of the Jewish royal treasurer Samuel ha-Levi of Toledo, lent 6,280 maravedis and five dineros of his master's money to Fernand Falcón, a Christian from Alcalá de Henares, to establish or maintain good relations ("por faser amor") with him. The debt was recorded on May 17, 1350; Fernand Falcón sold property to pay it on May 13, 1360.<sup>31</sup> And in 1356, the archdean of Talavera lent five thousand maravedis to Domingo Ferrandes, the prior of the collegiate church of Santa Leocadia, which was just outside the walls of Toledo. The prior apparently wanted the money to buy real estate.<sup>32</sup>

In only two of the eight cases did the debts seem to have been incurred for subsistence purposes. In one, the heirs of an *alguacil*, or agent of the *alcaldes*, of Toledo hired the Christian Alfonso Gomes of Maqueda and the Jew Mosé ibn Crespín of Toledo to collect debts owed to the estate of their late mother, Marina Ferrandes, by several Christian residents of Alcabón and Maqueda.<sup>33</sup> The sum of all the debts was high enough to justify the employment of collection agents, but since they individually involved not only money, but also bread and other produce, they are likely to have been subsistence loans. In another case, Martín Ferrandes and his wife María Ferrandes, Christians from Alcabón, borrowed twenty-two and one-half maravedis and oil worth twenty-eight maravedis from the Jew Abraham Mohep of Torrijos; later they borrowed 170 maravedis more from him. They

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the daughter of Domingo Martines the *ortolano* and the widow of Nicolás Martines; she lived in a suburban area just outside the walls of Toledo. She sold the property to Juan Esteban the son of Martín Miguel de Cabañas, a resident of La Sagra, and to his wife Ynés Peres.

<sup>31</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2962, no. 6 (May 13, 1360).

<sup>32</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 5 (August 11, 1356).

<sup>33</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 16 (June 28, 1351). The heirs were Tel García and Ynés García, children of Marina Ferrandes and García Suares de Meneses. Their family was influential in Toledo over several generations. The debtors, who owed money, bread, and other things in kind, were Pedro Melendez and his wife doña Domenga, of Alcabón, Tomé Suares, a former *alcalde* of Alcabón, and his wife doña Catalina, and Juan Alfonso (not, of course, the Juan Alfonso of the main case under discussion here) and his wife Marina Peres, of Pozo Venques, a village near Maqueda.

Marina Ferrandes was evidently active in financial activities in the Toledan countryside. On June 3, 1343, she had collected a debt of one hundred maravedis, after Gonçalo Peres and his wife, residents in Alcabón, sold an orchard to pay her (ACT, A.2.G.1.7).

had also borrowed several bushels of wheat from the Jew Yehuda ibn Daví.<sup>34</sup>

Unlike these subsistence borrowers, Juan Alfonso did not need the cloth he bought for his own use. According to legislation of 1351, for the five hundred maravedis he had spent a landowner in the archdiocese of Toledo could hire ten male or eighteen female harvest workers for a month, or have ten children wet-nursed for a year, or pay a manservant for twelve and one-half years, or buy 1,125 bushels of salt, or have 250 pairs of fine leather shoes made, or indulge in eighty-three pairs of gilded shoes.<sup>35</sup> Cloth worth five hundred maravedis, then, was much more than could have been necessary to clothe Juan Alfonso's family and servants; it was obviously intended for resale. In fact, it was probably the money he made selling the cloth that Juan Alfonso used two months later to buy some houses.<sup>36</sup>

It is instructive to note that by buying his cloth on credit, not

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<sup>34</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 16 (February 14, 1358). The wheat they borrowed came to six *fanegas*; a *fanega* contained 55.5 liters, so the loan was equivalent to approximately 9 1/2 bushels (see Martín Alonso, *Diccionario medieval español: Desde las Glosas Emilianenses y Silenses (s. X) hasta el siglo XV* [Salamanca, 1986], 2:1126).

In the meantime, they had sold to Juana García, the archpriest of Santa Olalla's *casería*, an orchard that they had previously pledged to Abraham Mohep to secure their debt. When the case was brought to court, the orchard was seized from Juana García, who was left to try to recover her purchase price from the sellers. The date of the original debt was not given, but the orchard was seized from Juana García on February 14, 1358.

<sup>35</sup> Prices for the archdiocese of Toledo and the diocese of Cuenca were set by Pedro I in his *Ordenamiento de menestrales*, adopted at the Cortes of Valladolid in 1351; see *CLC*, 2:77, 80, 82, 83 (cl. 9: from June 1 through September 30, *peones* were to receive eighteen dineros a day and women one maravedí—the equivalent of 10 dineros—a day; cl. 17: *amas*—wet-nurses—were to receive sixty maravedis per child per year if they lived in their own houses, or fifty maravedis per child per year if they lived in their employers' homes; they also were to be shod and clothed; cl. 18: servants of knights and others were to receive forty maravedis per year plus their shoes and clothing; cl. 15: a *fanega*—55.5 liters—of salt was valued at seven dineros; cl. 20: a shoemaker should receive two maravedis for a pair of shoes of cordovan; and cl. 21: a shoemaker should be given six maravedis a pair for gilded shoes). The entire text of the *Ordenamiento* is in *CLC*, 2:75–91. A man who owned property worth five thousand maravedis had to maintain a horse and arms and could call himself a knight (*CLC*, 2:9 [cl. 11]).

Prices were higher in Toledo than they were farther south; see the *Ordenamiento* regulating prices for the archdiocese of Seville and the diocese of Córdoba at the same date, published in María Josefa Sanz Fuentes, "El ordenamiento de precios y salarios otorgado por Pedro I en 1351, cuaderno de la villa de Écija: estudio y edición," in *Homenaje al professor Juan Torres Fontes*, 2 vols. (Murcia, 1987), 2:1563–74.

<sup>36</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 17 (February 17, 1352).



making his payment on time, and refusing to repay his *fiador* until forced to do so, Juan Alfonso effectively obtained a long-term loan at extremely low interest. Don Abraham received only fifty maravedis in compensation for the use of his money and the loss of his vineyard and its revenues. Çag Mohep also received little, if any, of the ten-maravedi-per-day late fee named in the *carta de fiadura*, though it is certainly possible that the original transaction contained hidden interest charges. If Juan Alfonso had had to pay late charges or additional interest, the expense might well have bankrupted him.<sup>37</sup> But when debts were long overdue, judges were traditionally reluctant to award creditors the full amounts owed to them. Thus Juan Alfonso, who got cloth worth five hundred maravedis and finished paying for it only five years and ten months later, seems to have paid what amounted to an annual rate of interest of 3.4 percent.<sup>38</sup>

Juan Alfonso was hardly the only borrower to take advantage of the fact that due dates and interest charges, like other aspects of medieval law, were not strictly enforced. Records of other debts from the decade are less informative about the amounts actually

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<sup>37</sup> We do not know how much Juan Alfonso did pay Çag Mohep before the latter got Abraham ibn Halegua's vineyard. It was probably only 150 maravedis, since don Çag collected four hundred maravedis to cancel the original debt of five hundred maravedis, and fifty maravedis of that amount was probably for costs. (Fifty maravedis was the amount that Abraham ibn Halegua was later awarded for his costs.) Çag Mohep would thus have received only fifty maravedis above the original amount due to him, the equivalent of five days' late fee.

Even if don Çag had begun proceedings against Juan Alfonso and his *fiador* the day after the payment was due (that is, a month after the sale), it would have taken a minimum of nine days and more likely a month or two for the case to be heard and decided, and a minimum of sixty days, but more likely ten weeks to three months, for Abraham ibn Halegua's land to be seized and auctioned. Çag Mohep would then have been owed at least seven hundred maravedis in late fees, in addition to the money for the cloth itself. He very clearly did not recover this amount.

But if don Çag received the money for don Abraham's vineyard within six months of the loan, and did receive fifty maravedis in compensation, that amount would have been equivalent to interest of 20% a year, lower than the legally permitted rate of 33.3% a year (see the discussion below) but surely still profitable. Unfortunately, we do not know whether it was Çag Mohep or Abraham ibn Halegua who waited more than five years to collect his debt.

<sup>38</sup> One hundred and fifty maravedis paid to Çag Mohep before the foreclosure on don Abraham's vineyard (see note 37 above) and 450 maravedis paid to don Abraham, for a total of six hundred maravedis paid on a five-hundred-maravedi credit purchase, over five years and ten months. If the original contract for five hundred maravedis concealed an interest payment of fifty maravedis on a 450-maravedi purchase, Juan Alfonso paid an effective rate of interest of 5.7%.

If Juan Alfonso's version of the case was the true one, and he was a victim of a corrupt judgment, the total interest he paid was still only 15.25% a year, much

recovered, but few of them were repaid promptly.<sup>39</sup> Sancha Martines, who bought wax on credit, did indeed sell some land and buildings to pay for it just under eighteen months later. But Alvar Lopes, who had owed the cathedral chapter more than two thousand maravedis since 1357, did not pay that amount until 1364. And Juan Dias, who lent over six thousand maravedis in 1350, could not recover it before 1360. Other debts, like those owed to Marina Ferrandes and the money owed by Martín Ferrandes Pantoja, had to wait until either the debtor or the creditor died and estates were being settled.<sup>40</sup>

It appears that creditors usually preferred to press informally for payment as long as they had any hope of obtaining it that way, rather than enter into the uncertainty and expense of a time-consuming lawsuit. Consider the delays involved in the case between Juan Alfonso and Abraham ibn Halegua. More than seven months elapsed from the day they asked for arbitration until the latter finally received his money. After formally agreeing on January 23, 1357, to arbitrate between the parties, the archpriest heard their stories three weeks later, on February 15. Juan Alfonso presented his witnesses during the following week, on February 20, and the arbiter took another week to consider the case, giving his decision on February 27. Juan Alfonso was then expected to pay don Abraham within nine days. But it took far longer than that for don Abraham to demonstrate that Juan Alfonso had no intention of paying him, and it was not until June 24, some four months later, that the vineyard was seized and put at public auction for thirty days. On July 31, Juan Alfonso was notified of the high bid entered for the property, and was given nine days to come up with that amount himself or with a purchaser more to his liking, if he chose to do so. This nine days, like the similar period granted earlier, stretched itself out, and the sale was not concluded until August 13, 1357. A similarly lengthy process must have been carried out earlier in the same case, when Çag Mohep had don Abraham's vineyard sold.

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lower than the yearly rate of 33.33% permitted by the Cortes or the rate of 2% a day allowed for in the contract of sale.

<sup>39</sup> Abraham Mohep, who was owed 220.5 maravedis by Martín Ferrandes and María Ferrandes, and who was authorized to collect the payment for 6 *fanegas* of wheat they had received from Yhuda ibn Daví of Torrijos as well, recovered only 135 maravedis (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 16 [February 14, 1358]).

<sup>40</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3072, no. 10 (May 28, 1361); AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3029, no. 2 (November 25, 1364); AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2962, no. 6

In circumstances like these, it is clear why most reasonable lenders used their time to get what they could of their money without generating the resentments often caused by going to law and forcing debtors to sell their property. Indeed, the drawbacks of going to court occasionally led creditors to use past-due loan contracts as transferable assets if they had trouble recovering the cash the documents represented. Half a century earlier, for example, in 1300, Ruy Gutierrez Tello and his wife María García borrowed 4,185 maravedis from Jacob ibn Yahion, to be repaid within a year. Six years later they still owed 2,010 maravedis. After another nine years, in 1315, Jacob ibn Yahion finally sold the debt, which had not been further reduced, to doña Urraca, his creditor for money with which he had bought cloth. Doña Urraca assumed the risk of recovering more money from Ruy Gutierrez Tello and María García, and Jacob ibn Yahion had finally found a way to make some use of a rather unprofitable *carta*.<sup>41</sup>

This local picture, which is representative of loans made throughout the entire archdiocese of Toledo, indicates that during the 1350s there was no stereotypical pattern there of wealthy Jews lending to poor Christians and eagerly foreclosing on their land. Half the credit sales and loans treated here, including most of the very large ones, were made between Christians, with no Jews involved. It is notable that churchmen, using their own money, account for most of these cases.<sup>42</sup> Other incidents from the decade show Jews acting as financial agents and *fiadores* for Christians, and Christians acting as financial agents and *fiadores* for Jews. One should expect, then, that relations between members of the two groups were more complex than the simple resentment of the impoverished and indebted against their wealthy creditors.

Such resentment was in fact one possible response when most creditors were members of an identifiable minority group, or when the official condemnation of usury was stressed, as was the case in Castile. William Chester Jordan, who examines consumption and

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(May 13, 1360); AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 16 (June 28, 1351); and AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3015, no. 10 (September 23, 1352).

<sup>41</sup> ACT, I.12.C.1.53 (August 29, 1300) is the loan contract; the amount still due was written between its lines on October 14, 1306. ACT, O.2.C.1.7 (September 3, 1315) records the sale of the loan contract to doña Urraca.

<sup>42</sup> It is no surprise that Diago Gonçalves, the archdean of Talavera, was prominent among them.

subsistence loans, and emphasizes the participation of women as borrowers and lenders, notes the complex web of friendship and hostility that could bind debtor to creditor. He suggests that when widespread and severe economic pressure combined with antipathy to "pariah-group lending," the latter reinforced by official religious teachings, indebtedness often bred hostility. In particular, he notes that Christian children would likely have learned at a young age to associate Jews with rapacious and unjust usury.<sup>43</sup>

These or similar attitudes are indeed reflected in the legislation regulating moneylending promulgated at various Castilian Cortes, explicitly at the request of representatives of the towns. The earliest relevant law, adopted by the Cortes of Valladolid in 1258, set the legal rate of interest at 33.3 percent (expressed as "tres por quatro," or "three for four") a year, with contracts to run for no longer than a year, and with the total accumulation of interest not to exceed one hundred percent of the principal; bad debts could not be collected more than four years after the date of the original loan. These provisions could be overridden by royal privilege. The legislation was directed primarily at Jews, but its provisions were to hold for Christian and Muslim usurers as well.<sup>44</sup> Ten years later, at the Cortes of Jerez of 1268, the interest rate was changed to twenty percent a year and the legal length of contracts was increased to two years, in response to the Christian townspeople's complaints of financial distress.<sup>45</sup> Christians were forbidden to lend at interest, and when they borrowed more than two maravedis were required to make a contract with a public notary.<sup>46</sup> By 1293, at the Cortes of Valladolid, the legal interest rate was once again stated to be 33.3 percent a year. But creditors now had only thirty days from the due date to sue for repayment of bad debts, and Jewish creditors could not seize Christians' land.<sup>47</sup> These provisions were reconfirmed at the Cortes of

<sup>43</sup> Jordan, *Women and Credit*, 15–17, 29; idem, "Jews on Top," 45–55.

<sup>44</sup> *CLC*, 1:60 (clauses 29–30).

<sup>45</sup> This was not only a lower rate of interest; given the peculiarities of Castilian coinage, it was far easier to calculate. Castilian money of account was the maravedi, which was also the name of a gold coin. Maravedis were made up of a fluctuating number of silver dineros, the quality and thus the value of which was much manipulated, but which by the fourteenth century had stabilized at ten dineros to a maravedi. Obviously, interest rates of 20% would be easier to deal with in a base-ten coinage than would calculations requiring division by three.

<sup>46</sup> All these provisions are found in *CLC*, 1:80 (cl. 44).

<sup>47</sup> *CLC*, 1:114, (cl. 23).

Valladolid of 1299, Zamora in 1301, Valladolid in 1307 and 1312, Palencia in 1313, Madrid in 1329, Alcalá de Henares in 1345, and León in 1349.<sup>48</sup>

The manner of collecting bad debts was addressed in 1301 and 1329, when some local magistrates were put in charge of the process, and again in 1339, when a royal official was authorized to name *entregadores* (official debt collectors who kept ten percent of the amounts they recovered) from among any leading Christians of each town.<sup>49</sup> In the meantime, dissatisfaction with Jewish moneylending expressed itself in the towns' representatives' attempts to obtain delays and abatements of the repayment of Christians' debts to Jews, phrased in terms of the impoverishment of Christians at the hands of their maleficent creditors. The petitions were not always successful. A delay and a partial abatement of payment of debts to Jews (though not of Christians' debts to each other) was granted at the Cortes of Madrid in 1329 and 1339, a one-year grace period was granted at the Cortes of Alcalá de Henares in 1345, and another partial abatement was granted at the Cortes of Alcalá de Henares in 1348. But the 1345 moratorium had been reduced from the three years the towns requested, on the grounds that Jews were also greatly impoverished, and the two-year delay requested at the Cortes of León in 1349 was also reduced to one year. Moreover, debts resulting from the sale of cloth or other merchandise were specifically exempted from the abatements.<sup>50</sup>

Moneylending was presumably rationalized after the Cortes held at Alcalá de Henares in 1348, where Alfonso XI officially promulgated the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X as the primary Castilian law-code. The so-called new laws of Alfonso XI included a prohibition of Jewish usury, but also contained a number of regulations of acceptable moneylending. For instance, contracts of debt to Jews could not be collected on nor turned over to *entregadores* after six years.<sup>51</sup> Most recently, as far as Juan Alfonso and Abraham ibn Halegua were concerned, Pedro I had confirmed these regulations at the Cortes of Valladolid in 1351 and had declined to give a grace period for

<sup>48</sup> The confirmations are found in *CLC*, 1:144 (cl. 13), 154 (cl. 10), 195 (cl. 28), 220 (cl. 100), 227–30 (cl. 30), 423 (cl. 53), 438 (cl. 41), 480 (cl. 9), and 631 (cl. 11).

<sup>49</sup> *CLC*, 1:153–54 (cl. 9), 418–19 (cl. 44), 439 (cl. 44), and 462–63 (cl. 8).

<sup>50</sup> *CLC*, 1:421–23 (cl. 52), 464–65 (cl. 13), 479 (cl. 4), 486–87 (cl. 5), 532 (capítulo lvi), 613 (cl. 55), and 643 (cl. 22).

<sup>51</sup> *CLC*, 1:532–34 (cap. lvii), 515–16 (cap. xxii).

the debts of Christians to Jews, as it would not be in his interest. Moreover, he refused to forbid Jews to buy real property, which many of them had been doing, extending their interest from moneylending to life as small rentiers.<sup>52</sup>

There is a question, however, of why, when moneylending in medieval Castile was not an exclusively or even primarily Jewish business, it was mainly Jews who were accused of profiting unjustly from the needs of others. Thirteenth-century regulation of the profession had recognized the variety of its members, with laws explicitly applying to "Christians and Moors as well as Jews."<sup>53</sup> By the fourteenth century this official awareness had lapsed. Legislation concerning moneylending now routinely referred to Jews alone, contributing to and confirming the stereotypes. Lending by Christians, on the rare occasions it was mentioned, was now treated as a separate category of behavior, subject to its own legislation.<sup>54</sup> Most recently, as has been noted, the Cortes of Valladolid in 1351 had produced a number of complaints about Christians' indebtedness to Jews.<sup>55</sup>

In part, this change in attitude can be attributed to heightened Christian sensitivity to ecclesiastical condemnations of usury. But it must also have been due to the fact that while Jews were not the only Castilian financiers they were over-represented in the business. Half the loans examined here did involve Jewish creditors, while Jews definitely did not make up half the population of the archdiocese. Jews, despite being mostly artisans, merchants, or small landowners, thus were perceived as unusually ready or able to lend money at interest, and as a result were understood to be unusually greedy, unusually rich, and unusually responsible for the poverty of their debtors.

But at the same time that loans were a potential source of conflict, and Jews' loans to Christians reinforced negative stereotypes, within a local context networks of credit that criss-crossed class or group boundaries were likely to produce feelings of cooperation and mutual support rather than hostility. Elaine Clark has demonstrated that

<sup>52</sup> *CLC*, 2:31 (cl. 52), 38–9 (cl. 64–66), 40 (cl. 68), and 44 (cl. 75). Decisions like these formed the basis for the Trastámaras' accusations that Pedro unnaturally favored the Jews.

<sup>53</sup> *CLC*, 1:60 (cl. 29); see also *CLC*, 1:80 (cl. 44) for further evidence that Jews were seen as the first, but not the only, focus of this legislation.

<sup>54</sup> *CLC*, 1:531–32 (cap. lv) and 594–95 (cl. 2).

<sup>55</sup> *CLC*, 2:38–9 (cl. 64–66), 44 (cl. 75, 76).

overlapping networks of credit for subsistence and production could help to stabilize small communities. Jordan, despite his reservations about the effects of the combination of debt and ethnic difference, concurs. Joseph Shatzmiller, whose discussion of professional urban moneylending may be more relevant to this case, points out that, like a modern banker, an individual who made repeated and long-term loans during the Middle Ages needed both a good reputation to attract customers and the ability to maintain good relations with debtors during the term of the loan. In fact, Fr. Robert I. Burns suggests the financial ties between Christians and Jews and the similarity in economic interests and outlook between the groups promoted assimilation. Finally, to understand credit transactions in and around Toledo in the 1350s, it is well to remember that long-term indebtedness was common in medieval society and that numerous potential lenders were available to provide credit, so that both borrowers and lenders had an economic incentive to cooperate.<sup>56</sup> The very fact that the language of loan contracts, formulaic though it was, referred to mutual assistance and implied respect between borrower and lender may have helped to engender and then reinforce such feelings by describing and repeating them.<sup>57</sup>

Certainly, when a Jewish creditor pressed so hard for repayment of a debt that a Christian debtor had to sell real property to satisfy him, as happened to Juan Alfonso, there was the likelihood of heightened tensions between the groups. But the knowledge that, as had happened to Abraham ibn Halegua and the heirs of Martín Ferrandes Pantoja, a friend or neighbor could similarly lose land to the demands of a creditor of his own religion, would have lessened the specifically anti-Jewish quality of the resentment.<sup>58</sup> And when a Jewish creditor allowed a Christian's debt to run on for years rather than going to court, resentment over continuing indebtedness was diluted by an element of gratitude for the creditor's forbearance.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Clark, "Debt Litigation," 262-64, 268-71; Jordan, "Women and Credit in the Middle Ages," 35-36, 45; Shatzmiller, *Shylock Reconsidered*, 71-103; Robert I. Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge, 1984), 133-35.

<sup>57</sup> See Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca, 1980), 131-58, for a vivid if somewhat overstated consideration of the emotional resonance that the formal language of friendship could impart to business relationships in late-fourteenth-century Italy.

<sup>58</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3015, no. 10 (September 23, 1352).

<sup>59</sup> Shatzmiller, *Shylock Reconsidered*, 97-99, discusses the widespread though perhaps paradoxical European belief that Jewish moneylenders were less exacting than Christians.

Stereotypes were reinforced when a Jew acted as the agent of a Christian who was owed money for a loan or for taxes. So Yehuda Mohep, collecting revenues for the cathedral of Toledo, and Mosé ibn Crespin, hired to collect debts owed to the estate of the late Marina Ferrandes, would have aroused resentment specifically as Jewish revenue collectors. But when Christians performed the same tasks, the stereotypes were undercut. By acting in roles popularly associated with Jews, Alfonso Gomes, hired to work with Mosé ibn Crespin as a debt collector, Alvar Lopes, Yehuda Mohep's partner and *fiador* in tax collection, and Juan Dias, the agent of the royal treasurer, incidentally served to temper Christian antagonism toward Jews.<sup>60</sup>

Similar economic interests can provide a solid basis for cooperation, despite other sources of tension; financial motives must have accounted for many of the cases of inter-religious employment and partnership revealed by the documents. It would be naive to assume that Juan Dias and his employer Samuel ha-Levi were bound by indissoluble emotional ties, or that Mosé ibn Crespin and Alfonso Gomes were inseparable friends who would work only with each other, or that Çag Mohep sold cloth to Juan Alfonso simply to do him a favor. But it would be equally wrong to assume that there was no emotional component to these relationships. As Richard C. Trexler has demonstrated for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Florence, the ritualized formulas used to describe economic cooperation, couched as they were in terms of friendship, helped to foster and sustain friendship as well as partnership.<sup>61</sup> Language of this type is likely to have had the same influence in Castile.

<sup>60</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 3029, no. 2 (April 29, 1358); AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2984, no. 16 (June 28, 1351); and AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2962, no. 6 (May 13, 1358). It is also interesting to consider, in this context, the 1353 account book of the receipts of the lord of Ajofrín. Ajofrín is a town about ten miles south-southeast of Toledo, and was the center of a valuable *señorio*. Seventy-five revenue collectors were listed in the accounts; only five of them were Jews (AHN, Clero, papeles, legajo 7218, número 2). Fritz Baer refers to this account in a note in *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien: Urkunden und Regesten* (Berlin, 1929–1936), 2:177, by its old catalogue number of AHN, Toledo, Catedral, Papeles, legajo 636, and dates it to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. He apparently did not observe the notation at the top of fol. 8, “Era de xcj<sup>a</sup> annos.” This, together with what is known from other sources about some of the individuals mentioned in the accounts, indicates that the document was written in 1353 (the Castilian era of Caesar was thirty-eight years ahead of the Julian calendar; years ran from January 1 to December 31).

<sup>61</sup> Trexler, *Public Life*, 131–58. Yehuda Mohep did sell some property to his *fiador*,



And in the case of Abraham ibn Halegua and Juan Alfonso, there indeed seem to have been more than monetary considerations involved. A *fiador* could not profit, and could easily lose, by guaranteeing another's purchase or sale. That contracts in the archdiocese of Toledo were nonetheless often guaranteed by *fiadores* indicates a high level of social cohesion there.<sup>62</sup> That don Abraham acted as a *fiador* for Juan Alfonso, despite his later regret, shows a specific example of this social cohesion—or, in plain language, of this friendship—that was not hampered by religious differences. Part of don Abraham's long delay in enforcing payment of the debt must have been due to a real desire not to destroy utterly what once had been a pleasant relationship.

The choice of the archpriest of Santa Olalla as an arbiter is also significant of a certain underlying amity. The document empowering him to decide the case explicitly called him a “comunal amigo,” a friend to both parties.<sup>63</sup> There is no surviving record of the connection between him and don Abraham, but the archpriest and Juan Alfonso had witnessed a contract together only the day before the former gave his decision.<sup>64</sup> As a friend, the archpriest was clearly expected to find the least painful solution to the problem, but this was not a situation in which everyone could win, and Juan Alfonso

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Alvar Lopes (ACT, O.10.B.3.6 [March 8, 1356]), which may indicate that their economic relationship, at least, was not limited to revenue collection.

<sup>62</sup> Sales on credit, whether of real or of movable property, were always backed up by a pledge of other property belonging to the purchaser or by the property of a *fiador*. The custom of *marjadrac*, as mentioned in note 16 above, also required sellers of real property to guarantee it with property or a *fiador*.

<sup>63</sup> Though this phrase appears at first glance to be a standard formula, closer examination reveals that it is not formulaic. A Castilian notarial formulary compiled in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, which includes a number of examples of late-fourteenth-century documents from Toledo, includes several examples of *compromisos* or charters of arbitration. Several phrases included in the *compromiso* in this case to describe the archpriest's role (for instance, “jues arbitro arbitrador e amigo amigable conponedor”) are found in the formulary. But none of its examples include the term “comunal amigo.” See Luisa Cuesta Gutiérrez, ed., *Formulario notarial castellano del siglo XV* (Madrid, 1974), 30–35, 36–40, 87–88 (items 18–21, 23, 57). The reference to common friendship among Juan Alfonso, Abraham ibn Halegua, and the archpriest seems to have been intended as a non-formulaic addition to the formulaic description, included in this document as the reflection of a specific reality.

<sup>64</sup> On February 26, 1357 (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 9). Both men were named Juan Alfonso, but they were distinguished in this and other documents as Juan Alfonso the son of Alfonso Esteban and Juan Alfonso the archpriest of Santa Olalla.

lost. He not only lost his land in this case—he also, evidently, lost friends.

One must not exaggerate or romanticize the friendships between Jews and Christians appearing in these records. Such friendships were not universal, and must constantly have been subject to the strain of escalating Christian-Jewish hostility in the community at large. As recently as 1355, it should be noted, encouraged by the Trastámaras, Christians of Toledo had attacked the Jewish community there.<sup>65</sup> But it is important to remember that despite the violence, Jews and Christians could and did act in harmony, with no motive other than the desire to help each other.

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<sup>65</sup> In 1355, Enrique of Trastámara encouraged popular disaffection against his half-brother Pedro I under the guise of championing the rights of the imprisoned queen, Blanca of Borbón. Enrique and his brother Fadrique entered Toledo, where the queen was held, in May of that year, which led to some rioting and attacks on the *judería* (Archivo Municipal de Toledo, cajón 5, legajo 1, no. 6 [October 12, 1355]). For a discussion of the vicissitudes of Toledan Jewry from 1355 through the civil war that followed, see Pilar León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo* (Madrid, 1979), 1:141–46 and, especially, Julio Valdeón Baroque, “La judería toledana en la guerra civil de Pedro I y Enrique II,” in *Simposio “Toledo judaico”* (Toledo 20–22 abril 1972) (Toledo, 1973), 1:107–131.

## APPENDIX

August 13, 1357, Alcabón.

Juan Alfonso, the archpriest of Santa Olalla, arbitrates a dispute about a debt owed by Juan Alfonso of Alcabón, son of Alfonso Esteban, to Abraham ibn Halegua of Alcabón, and a vineyard belonging to Juan Alfonso of Alcabón is sold at public auction to satisfy the decision.

AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 2985, no. 13. Original.

Sepan quantos esta carta vieren commo en presençia de mj Pero Gonzales escriuano publico de Alcauon y delos testigos que aqui escriuieron sus nombres por pleito y contienda que auia enuqe Johan Alfonso fijo de Alfonso Esteuan de Alcauon y de don Abraham Aben Halegua judio morador enel dicho lugar ante Alfonso Yuanes alcalld de Toledo por se pagar de costas y de alongamiento de pleito las dichas partes tomaron por su juez arbitro arbitrador amjgo amjgable compromedor comunal amjgo a Johan Alfonso arçipreste de Santa Olalla para quelos libre el dicho pleito y de penna enel. Et otorgaron enesta rason vn compromjso del qual es el tenor del este que se sigue:

Sepan quantos esta carta vieren commo yo Johan Alfonso fijo de Alfonso Esteuan de Alcauon y yo don Abraham Aben Halegua judio morador enel dicho lugar nos amos todos otorgamos y conosciemos que por rason de pleito y contienda que nos auimos en Toledo ante alcalld Alfonso Yuanes sobre rason de vna fiadura que yo el dicho don Abraham fue al dicho Johan Alfonso contra don Çag Mohep de Maqueda de vna coantia de maravedis quales el auia a dar por vna carta publica.

Et agora por nos pagar de contienda y de alongamiento de pleito nos las dichas partes ordenamos de faser y fasemos nuestro alcalld arbitro arbitrador amjgo amjgable compromedor comuna [*sic*] amjgo Johan Alfonso arçipreste de Santa Olalla para que el que nos oyga y nos libre este pleito que nos los dichos Johan Alfonso y don Abraham auemos en vno. Et que nos libre en qual manera el quisiere y por bien toujere guardando la orden del derecho o non guardandola. Et damos poder auos el dicho Johan Alfonso arçipreste que nos lo libredes commo alcalld arbitro arbitrado amjgo amigable compromedor comunal amjgo y quello libredes lo mas Hayna que vos pudieredes en dia feriado o non

feriado estando en pre o asentado y estando nos las dichas partes presentes o non presentes y que uos podades enplasar vos porvos o por otro o por vuestra carta quando vos quisierdes y para qual dia vos quisierdes y para qual ora para ante vos. Et la parte que non vniere a vuestro enplasmamiento o a vuestros enplasmamientos que vos peche cada ves dose maravedis dela moneda blanca de dies dineros el maravedi.

Et obligamos nos con todos nuestros bienes de obedecer vuestro juyisia y vuestro mandamiento y de conplir y pagar todo quantos vos el dicho alcalde arbitro arbitrador amjgo amigable comprometedor comunal amigo judgaredes y mandaredes commo dicho es so pena de mill maravedis desta moneda usual de dies dineros el maravedi que peche la parte que non quisiere estar njn estudiere por lo que vos judgaredes y mandaredes la meatad para vos y la otra meatad parala parte que estudiere y obedeciere el vuestro juyisio y vuestro mandamiento que vos judgaredes y mandaredes. Et que tantas veses sea tenuta la parte que non estudiere njn obedeciere el vuestro juyisio y vuestro mandamiento de pechar la pena quantas veses cogan ello finque. Et la pena pagada o non pagada que vala y finque firme y estable para siempre jamas todo lo que uos el dicho jues judgaredes y mandaredes cogan nos las dichas partes o cogan qual quiere de nos y que podades jnterpetrar y declarar y conplir y faser la execucion de vuestro juyisio y de vuestro mandamiento enlos bienes dela parte cogan quien fuera dado el juyisio ansy por el pleito principal commo por la penna o penas enque cayere qual quier de nos las dichas partes maguer sea pasado el plaso que uos asignaredes aqui cumplamos vuestro juyisio y vuestro mandamiento.

Et que nos non podamos agrauiar njnguna delas partes. Et sy nos agraujaremos amos o qual quier de nos que vos pechemos en pena otros mill maravedis y que nos non dedes alçada para ante njngun jues njn sennor que sea. Et que nos non podamos querellar deuos a njngund jues y synos querellaremos que nos non vala y demas que pechemos la pena delos mill maravedis. Et otrosy renunçiamos las dichas partes la ley de varon bueno que fabla enlos compromisos y toda otra ley escripta o non escripta en fuero o en derecho que contra sea desta carta que nos non vala.

Fecha la carta Lunes veynt y tres dias de Enero era de mill y tresientos y nouenta y cinco annos. Yo Anton Domingues clerigo so testigo. [sign] Esta el nombre del dicho don Abraham escripto en ebrayco commolo el paje. [sign] Yo Pero Gonzales escriuano publico de Alcauon la escriuj por ruego y otorgamiento de amas las partes y so testigo y fis aqui mio signo.

Et el compromiso fecho y leydo antel dicho Johan Alfonso arçipreste jues arbjtro pareçieron antel las dichas partes Mjércoles quince dias de Febrero dela era sobredicha y las partes presientes el dicho don Abraham mostro y fiso leer vna carta escripta en cuero dela qual es el tenor della este que se sigue\_\_\_\_:

[blank line in original]

Sepan quantos esta carta vieren commo yo Johan Alfonso fijo de Alfonso Esteuan de Alcauon y marido que so de Mari Blasco que so debdor y yo don Abraham fijo de don Yuda Aben Halegua judio de Maqueda que so su fiador nos amos ados de mancomun y cada vno de nos por todo otorgamos y conosçiemos que deuemos dar y pagar auos don Çag fijo de don Mose Mohep judio morador en Maqueda quinientos maravedis dela moneda blanca de dies dineros el maravedi de panno que compramos de vos y pasaron a nuestro poder bien y complida miente ante los testigos desta carta.

Et otorgamos de vos los dar y pagar de oy a vn mes este primero que viene. Et sy aeste plaso non vos los diemos que vos los demas con dies maravedis en pena cada dia quantos dias pasaren del plaso adelante. Et sylo asy non cumplieremos damos poder auos el dicho don Çag o a quien esta carta mostrare de nos prender por ello en todo lo nuestro mueble y rays por do quier quelo fallaredes y vended ende lo que quisierdes a vuestra pro y a nuestro danno fasta que seades entregado tambien dela pena commo delos quinientos maravedis dichos y esto quelo fagades sin mandado de alcalde y sin fuero y sin juyso y sin terçer dia y sin nueve dias y sin treynta dias y sin ferias y sin jura y sin calonna ninguna y sy pena o calonna se y leuantar que sea sobre nos y ante qual alcalde vos quisieredes ante tal vayamos y non ante otro njnguno.

Et yo el dicho Johan Alfonso otorgo de sacar sin danno desta fiadura auos el dicho don Abraham. Et para esto cumplir obligo \_\_\_ a mjs bienes.

Fecha quatro dias de Nouiembre era de mill y tresientos y ochenta y nueue annos. [sign] Yo Alfonso Gonzales so testigo. Esta vn nombre en ebrayco. [sign] Yo Johan Aluares escriuano publico de Maqueda so testigo y fis aqui mio signo [sign].

Et la qual carta leyda el dicho don Abrehem [sic] demiçio al dicho jues que el que auja vna vjnna suya en termjno de Maqueda al pago de Valde Cortido que se tiene con vjnna del Cabildo de Maqueda y con vinna de Lorenço Martines clerigo dela yglesia de Sant Pedro y con el sendero delas Lauares. Y que por esta dicha fiadura que gela entrega el dicho don Çag Mohep y que gela rematara por mandado delos alcalldes de Maqueda ant quien fuera pedido. La qual vinna estimo que podia valer nueueçientos fasta mill maravedis. Y que maguer que por muchas veses auja regado y afrontado al dicho Johan Alfonso quele fasase suy danno dela dicha fiadura quelo nunca quisiera faser y que por esta rason quele auja rematado la dicha vjnna y que pidie al dicho jues que gela mandase captiar conlas costas y danos y menoscabos que por esta rason auja\_\_ reçevido segund fallase por derecho.

Et el dicho juez pregunto al dicho Johan Alfonso que era lo que disia. Et el dicho Johan Alfonso en respondiendo dixo que vna carta que el dicho don Abraham le fiara cogan el dicho don Çag que era su coantia quatroçientos y çinquenta maravedis y que auja pagado las quatroçientos maravedis y que fincaran los çinquenta maravedis por pagar y que estos dichos quatroçientos maravedis quelos auia pagado al dicho don Çag y que por los çinquenta que fincauan que el dicho don Abraham quele segurara que el dadole los dichos çinquenta maravedis que fincauan del dicho debdo que el quele traeren la carta o aluala de pago dellos dichos maravedis.

Et el dicho don Abraham dixo que gelo negaua segund quello disie. Et el dicho Johan Alfonso dixo quello queria prouar. Et el dicho juez diole plaso aque traxiese los testigos que enesta rason ouiese para el Lunes siguiente que sera veynte dias del dicho mes de Febrero dela era sobre dicha.

Et al qual plaso del dicho Lunes antel dicho juez pareçieron las dichas partes y el dicho Johan Alfonso presento por testigos a Sancho Ferrandes de Alcauon y a Johan Esteuan alcalde y Anton Domingues clerigo y a John Vasques y a Pascual Garcia y a Domingo Alfonso y a Pero Dias vesinos del dicho logar y a don Abraham Mohep de Torrijos y a don Çag Astilleja de Santa Olalla. Et los testjgos presentados y las partes presentes el dicho juez tomoles la jura a los cristianos enlos santos euangelios y alos judios en su ley y la jura fecha el dicho juez tomoles sus dichas y dixeron en esta manera:

Et Sancho Fernandes jurado y preguntado todas las preguntas segund que suso se contiene firmo y dixo que por la jura que jurara que vido vn dia de que se non acuerda que dia era que estando enla plasa de Alcauon que dixo el dicho Johan Alfonso al dicho don Abraham, Ruego vos don Abraham que me traygades aquella carta por muerte o por vida o aluala de pago de aquellos quatroçientos maravedis. Et que el dicho don Abraham que dixo, John Alfonso dad me los çinquenta maravedis y yo bos traere la carta. Preguntado sy sabe que fuese la carta dela fiadura que el dicho don Abraham demandaua al dicho Johan Alfonso quele el fuera cagan el dicho don Çag Mohep que era su cuantia quinientos maravedis, dixo que desto non sabe nada mas que era de vna carta que era su coantia quatroçientos y çinquenta maravedis que auia sacado el conçejo para menesteres que ouo, y desta que non sabe mas.

Et Johan Esteuan alcalde juraua y preguntado enla rason sobredicha firmo y dixo que estando vn dia enla plaça de Alcauon que vido a

Johan Alfonso que dixo al dicho don Abraham, Ruego vos que me traygades aquella carta por muerte o por vida o aluala de pago de aquellos quatroçientos maravedis que yo pague a don Çag Mohep, y que dixo don Abraham, dad me los çinquenta maravedis y yo vos traere la carta. Preguntado sy sabe que aquellos maravedis sy era de aquella carta que demanda don Abraham a Johan Alfonso quele fio cagan el dicho don Çag que es su coantia quinientos maravedis, dixo que non sabe sy era de aquella maravedis sy de otra alguna y desto que non sabe mas.

Et Domingo Alfonso juraua y preguntado enla rason sobredicha firmo y dixo que vido estar vn dia contendiendo alos dichos Johan Alfonso y don Abraham, y que dixera don Abraham, Dad me çinquenta maravedis y yo vos traere vuestra carta. Preguntado sy sabe que aquella carta sy era la que demanda don Abraham a Johan Alfonso contra don Çag Mohep quele fiara que era su coantia quinientos maravedis, dixo que non sabie [*sic*] mas que oy era desir que era la carta de coantia de quatroçientos y çinquenta maravedis, y que desto non sabe mas.

Et Pero Dias juraua preguntado la rason sobredicha firmo y dixo que vido vn dia corredor alos dichos Johan Alfonso y don Abraham, y que dixera Johan Alfonso a don Abraham, Por que non me traedes aquella carta, y que dixo don Abraham, Dad me çinquenta maravedis y yo vos traere vuestra carta. Preguntado sy sabe de que coantia o de que devdo era la carta, dixo que non.

Et Anton Domingues y Johan Vasques y Pascual Garcia y don Çag Astyleja y don Abraham Mohep dixeron que desto non saben njnguna cosa.

Et los testigos tomados el dicho jueves puso plaso alas dichas partes que aujdo su acuerdo que vjniesen oyr suya paral Lunes primero que viene que sera veynte y siete dias de Febrero dela era sobre dicha.

Al qual dicho plaso pareçieron las dichas partes antel dicho jueves. Et el dicho jueves pronunçio enesta manera. Que el visto el pleito y todos lo recabdos y todo lo allegado y rasonado y visto los dichos delos testigos y aujdo su acuerdo con omes buenos sabidores en derecho, que el dicho Johan Alfonso non prouo su contençion por quanto la carta dela fiadura es de coantia de quinientos maravedis y los testigos non disen mas de quatro-çientos y çinquenta maravedis. Y que judgando por suja mando al dicho Johan Alfonso que fasta nueve dias diese y pagase a don Abraham el sobredicho quatroçientos

maravedis por la dicha fiadura que por el pago y mas çinquenta maravedis delas costas requeçidas.

Et al qual dicho plaso delos nueue dias pasado y muchos dias mas pareçio el dicho don Abraham antel dicho juez disiendo que el dicho Johan Alfonso nonle auja fecho pago nñ querie faser delos dichos quatroçientos y çinquenta maravedis que el auie judgado contra el y quele pidie quele pidie [*sic*] que fisiese faser execuçion en sus bienes y le fisiese entregar enlas dichas maravedis. Et luego el dicho juez mando a Gonzalo Martines portero del ofiçio dela alcaldia en Alcauon que entregase al dicho don Abraham en bienes muebles o rayses del dicho Johan Alfonso fasta en coantia de quatroçientos y çinquenta maravedis y la prenda que por esta rason fisiese quela pusiese enel almoneda y quele fisiese saber quanto daua por ella por quela el mandase rematar en quien mas diese por ella. Et luego el dicho portero entrego al dicho don Abraham en vn majuelo con sus arboles que es del dicho Johan Alfonso en termjno de Alcauon al pago de Valde Cortido que se tiene con vñna del Cabildo y con vñna de Diago Gil y con el sendero. Et la entrega fecha el dicho portero començolo a pregonar Lunes veynt y quatro dias de Junyo y traxolo enel pregon treynta dias y muchos dias mas. Y non fallo quien mas diese por el dicho majuelo que Johan Vasques fijo de Miguell Peres que da por el quinientos maravedis. Et el dicho portero fiso lo saber al dicho juez y sylo mandaua rematar por esta coantia. Et el dicho juez mandolo rematar enel dicho Johan Vasques por quinientos maravedis que non fallaron quien mas diesse por el.

Et luego Lunes postrimero dia de Jullio el dicho juez dixo y requiro al dicho Johan Alfonso que el quele fasie saber que era vendido el dicho majuelo quele el mandara entrar y pregonar por los dichos quatroçientos y çinquenta maravedis quele el judgara por la dicha carta dela fiadura quele fiara el dicho don Abraham contra don Çag Mohep y que era rematado enel dicho Johan Vasques por quinientos maravedis por que non fallaran quien diese mas nñ tanto por el que el dicho Johan Vasques. Y que sy el querie dar quien diese mas por el o el sylo querie tanto por tanto que fasta nueue dias caxase los dichos maravedis y que el que gelo fasie desenbargar.

Al quel dicho plaso delos dichos nueue dias pasados y muchos dias mas el dicho Johan Alfonso non die nñ pago los dichos maravedis nñ mostra quien mas diese por el dicho majuelo que el dicho Johan Vasques en quien fue rematado mando que fincase enel rematado por todos plasos pasados y que fuese suyo para siempre jamas. Et el



dicho jues por el poder quele fue dado y otorgado enel dicho compromiso suso contenido oblige todos los bienes del dicho Johan Alfoni [*sic*] muebles y rayses que el agora a y auja cabo adelante para redrar y sanar el dicho majuelo al dicho Johan Vasques en quien fue rematado de quien quier que gelo quisiere demandar o regallar en todo tiempo del mundo. Et otrosy mando dar la dicha carta delos dichos quinientos maravedis por que fue fecho este remate al dicho Johan Alfonso aromper.

Fecha trese dias de Agosto era de mill y tresientos y nouenta y cinco annos. Ay escripto sobre raydo o dise Alfonso Yuanes y nole "enbargue. [sign]" Yo Johan Alfonso arçipreste de Santa Olalla. [sign] Yo Anton Domingues clerigo so testigo. [sign] Yo Pero Martines sacristan en Alcauon so testigo. [sign] Yo Pero Gonzales escriuano publico de Alcauon la escriuj y so testigo y fis aqui mio sig[sign]no.

## THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT ON THE ARAGONESE FRONTIER OF ALFONSO I

*William C. Stalls*

Intertwined with that grand theme of the Iberian Middle Ages, the Reconquista, the study of the Iberian frontier and its settlement forms part of a long and important historiographical tradition.<sup>1</sup> True of any such tradition, the historiography of Iberian frontier studies contains many premises, some of which prove faulty and unfounded when closely scrutinized. This certainly characterizes the study of one key moment in Christian Iberia's expansion against al-Andalus: the Arago-Navarrese conquest and settlement of Islamic Spain's Ebro River frontier of Aragon and Navarre during the reign of their great king Alfonso I (1104–1134). Because of their importance, Alfonso's Ebro conquests may serve as a suitable test of Iberian frontier historiography.

Culminating the often fitful push of the Aragonese and Navarrese from the Pyrenees before Aragon's 1137 union with Catalonia, the conquest of the Ebro region made Aragon a major Iberian power. Alfonso's Ebro victories ripped from the Almoravids, the Sanhaja Berbers ruling al-Andalus, a major defensive border (called the *al-thagar al-acla* or *Frontera superior* in Latin) guarding Islamic Iberia. Alfonso's victories also thwarted the ambitions of the Leonese monarchy, a key Christian enemy of the Aragonese, to control the geographically strategic and economically valuable Ebro region.<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> A convenient synthesis of this historiography is found in Salvador de Moxó, *Repoblación y sociedad en la España cristiana medieval* (Madrid, 1979). For a more current approach to Christian settlement and expansion, in this case Castile, see José Angel García de Cortázar, et alii, *Organización social del espacio en la España medieval: La Corona de Castilla en los siglos VIII a XV* (Barcelona, 1985).

<sup>2</sup> No comprehensive study of the conquest and settlement of the Ebro exists. José María Lacarra was the preeminent authority on the subject, and his work is found mostly in articles, many of which are now collected in *Estudios dedicados a Aragón de José María Lacarra* (Zaragoza, 1987), and *Colonización, parias, repoblación y otros estudios* (Zaragoza, 1981). Also see his *Aragón en el pasado*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1977), esp. chaps. 1–4. Lacarra also provided an important edited collection of documents: *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro* [hereafter cited as *Documentos*], 2 vols. (Zaragoza, 1982, 1985). A history of Aragonese expansion, including Alfonso's

key period of conquest occurred from 1118–1120 with the defeat of the Almoravid defenders of such cities as Zaragoza, Tudela, Tarazona, Calatayud, and Daroca. In the post-conquest period scholars consider the most pressing issue to be the settlement of the newly conquered lands; especially important for the success of post-conquest settlement was Alfonso I, usually considered the leader of Aragonese settlement. In this view, Alfonso's settlement of the Ebro marked, along with Alfonso's VI's conquest and settlement of Toledo in 1085, a significant turning point in Iberian settlement of the Muslim-Christian frontier: kings now assumed, for the first time, the leadership of settling conquered lands. Their leadership was necessary, since both the large amounts of territory absorbed because of conquest and the disposition of conquered Muslims had complicated the process of settlement.<sup>3</sup>

That settlement followed conquest, and that the king (in our case Alfonso) directed settlement, are major premises, deeply embedded not only in the scholarship of the Aragonese frontier but in Iberian frontier studies as a whole.<sup>4</sup> At first glance these positions seem to

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Ebro conquests, is provided by Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón: La formación territorial* (Zaragoza, 1981).

<sup>3</sup> De Moxó, *Repoblación*, 217, 221, 224, 300–306; Julio González Plasencia, *Repoblación de Castilla la nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1975), 1:12, 2:161; Lacarra, *Aragón*, 53, 61; Thomas Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1979), 99; Manuel González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085–1350)," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus McKay (Oxford, 1992); Lynn H. Nelson, "Internal Migration in Early Aragon: The Settlers from Ena and Baon," *Traditio*, 40 (1978), 148.

<sup>4</sup> For the Aragonese frontier, see Lacarra, *Aragón*, 69–70; idem, "La Reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," in *Estudios*, 223–24; María Ledesma Rubio, *Cartas de población del Reino de Aragón en los siglos medievales* (Zaragoza, 1991), 9; José Luis Corral Lafuente, *La comunidad de aldeas de Daroca en los siglos XII y XIV: Orígenes y proceso de consolidación* (Zaragoza, 1987), 25; and Carlos Laliena Corbera, *Sistema social, estructura agraria y organización del poder en el Bajo Aragón en la Edad Media (siglos XII–XV)* (Teruel, 1987), chaps. 2–3.

For the view that settlement was closely connected to conquest throughout the Iberian frontier, see de Moxó, *Repoblación*, 9–10: "El nombre de 'Reconquista.' La segunda—que se halla íntimamente vinculada a la anterior, en cuanto resultaba indispensable para sustenerla . . . se hallaba representada por el establecimiento en nuevas tierras de gentes con ánimo colonizador." For Castile in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Ermelindo Portela, "Del Duero al Tajo," in *Organización social del espacio*, 85: "En la repoblación que subsigue a la reconquista hispana." For Castile, also see González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement," 52: "What was attempted at each stage (of the Reconquest) was the creation of effective institutions which would guarantee at the same time the defence of the land and settlement." For Catalunya from 980 to 1050, see Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975), 1:439:

describe well Alfonso's role in the Ebro's settlement. In 1119, he issued a document granting rights and privileges of *infanzones* to Zaragoza's Christian settlers, and in that same year issued a charter of settlement (*carta puebla*) for Belchite, conquered in 1118. He granted charters of settlement to the settlers of Soria in 1119, and to Calatayud and Daroca most likely in 1120, the same years in which the cities were conquered. There also exists an isolated grant of property in Zaragoza to Ponce Fredalez.<sup>5</sup> The connection between conquest and settlement seems natural, since a strong Christian population would presumably solidify Christian control.

Such actions supposedly demonstrate Alfonso's leadership in sponsoring and in leading the resettlement of the Ebro. Charters of settlement (*cartas pueblas*) are, of course, royal documents that established the legal custom by which the inhabitants of a specific locale were to live.<sup>6</sup> An important point should be made about the *carta puebla*, at least for Alfonso's Ebro—it may have sanctioned settlement, but a *carta puebla* did not record settlement founded by the king. The documents of Alfonso's reign bear out this subtle and important distinction. In August 1128 Alfonso confirmed that the inhabitants of Araciél (south of the Ebro, across from Tudela) should have the custom (*fuero*) of Cornago (a village in the sierras of the southwestern part of the modern-day province of La Rioja): "I, Alfonso, make this charter of donation to all you settlers in Araciél, or those who will have come there before to settle . . . I give . . . to you such customs as they hold

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"Le repeuplement, qui a toujours soutenu la Reconquête." Despite making this statement, Bonnassie also notes that this pattern did not always hold (p. 439).

<sup>5</sup> See *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I de Aragón y Pamplona (1104–1134)* [hereafter cited as *CDA*], ed. José Angel Lema Pueyo (San Sebastián, 1990), no. 90 for Zaragoza (January 1119), no. 95 for Belchite (December 1119), no. 96 for Soria (March 1120), no. 97 for Calatayud (June 1120), no. 101 for Daroca (ca. 1120), and no. 94 for Ponce (1119). The documents recording the grants to Daroca, Calatayud, and Ponce do not survive; Lema Pueyo has assigned the grants to 1120 based on other evidence such as fragmentary mentions in other sources.

The *infanzones* of twelfth-century Aragon lack study. They seem to have been the nobility of lesser rank, distinguished not only by their status as mounted warriors but by their noble birth—noble meaning here hereditary exemptions from renders and seigniorial authority. Economic privileges to hold and to assart land freely also seem to have complemented the status of *infanzón*. See de Moxó, *Repoblación*, 416–18; and Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, "El derecho aragonés en el siglo XII," *2nd Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, Huesca, 1920* (Huesca, 1922), 188–89. On their economic privileges, see *Los Fueros de Aragón*, ed. Gunnar Tilander (Lund, 1937), Book VI, chap. 240.

<sup>6</sup> Lalilena Corbera, *Sistema social*, 30; and Ledesma Rubio, *Cartas de población*, 12.

in Cornago."<sup>7</sup> This grant, which its scribe labelled a *carta donationis* as *cartas pueblas* usually were, suggests that the settlers of Araciél had moved from Cornago, since they now wanted to live by that area's custom, and that they had already settled in Araciél when Alfonso granted their request.<sup>8</sup> No indication exists that the Battler was sponsoring the settlement of Araciél. Neither had the area's settlement occurred after its conquest; after all, Tudela and such other nearby cities as Tarazona had been under Christian control since at least 1119. The Battler was only approving settlement that had already taken place, most likely without his leadership. The reason for his action is obvious: such settlement needed his sanction because the lands of the Ebro belonged to him by right of conquest.

The granting of *fueros* also does not suggest royal leadership in establishing settlement. The important city of Zaragoza serves as an excellent example of this. As we have seen, Alfonso had granted the custom (*fuero*) of *infanzones* to Zaragoza's settlers in 1119; but ten years later Alfonso was busy again in Zaragoza, issuing to its residents a document now labelled a *fuero* by its modern editor but a *carta donationis* by its scribe. This is, of course, the famous "*fuero* of twenty," so called because it established a group of twenty residents to enforce the provisions of the document. The document records that Zaragoza's settlers had requested the grant of Alfonso, and that it was made both for those settling in Zaragoza and those who had already settled.<sup>9</sup> This document had, of course, nothing to do with Zaragoza's original settlement, for it was issued eleven years after the city's conquest. Thus it demonstrates that documents now called *fueros* are not necessarily tied to an area's original settlement nor do they demonstrate royal leadership of settlement. Indeed, as the document's language shows, Alfonso did not initiate its redaction;

<sup>7</sup> CDA, no. 198 (August 1128): "Ego quidem Aldefonsus . . . facio hanc cartam donationis uobis totos populatores in Arançiel uel in antea ibi ueneritis populare . . . dono . . . tales fueros quomodo habent illos de Cornaco." On the sense of *fuero* as custom, see Jesús Lalinde Abadía, *Los Fueros de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1985), 12–13.

<sup>8</sup> For the use of the term *carta donationis* to describe documents now labelled *cartas pueblas* by modern editors, see, for example, CDA, nos. 62 (1115), and 134 (December 1124).

<sup>9</sup> CDA, no. 209 (5 February 1129): "Adefonsus . . . facio hanc cartam et confirmacionis ad totos uos poulatores qui estis populatos in Caragoça et quantos in antea ueneritis ibi populare . . . dono et confirmo uobis fueros bonos quale uos mihi demandastis." The *fuero* and *carta puebla* as distinct typologies of royal documents probably did not exist in Alfonso's chancery. This is not the appropriate time to examine this question, though.

the residents of Zaragoza requested it, most likely because of internal disputes among them required resolution by the king.<sup>10</sup> This evidence suggests that the purpose of *cartas pueblas* and *fueros*, then, was to sanction settlers and their rights of settlement, even that not initiated by the crown. The *carta puebla* and *fuero* do not always demonstrate some overall royal policy of directing settlement. Even Alfonso's issuing of *cartas pueblas* for such places as Soria shortly after conquest, then, is not *prima facie* evidence for royal leadership of settlement. More likely, the custom of the Aragonese was for the king to approve settlement, not to lead it.

If *cartas pueblas*, for example, do not always demonstrate strong evidence for royal leadership of settlement, then neither do individual royal grants of property. This seems true for the settlement of Zaragoza, the Muslim capital of the region, and Tudela, another important regional city. Zaragoza was captured in December 1118 and Tudela in February 1119. In the period immediately after the capture of the two cities, royal grants of land are almost non-existent, even though these two cities possess the most surviving documentation for any city or area in the lands of Alfonso's Ebro conquests.<sup>11</sup> The lack of royal charters granting land at Zaragoza remains notable at least until 1121; even private charters recording transfers of property are scarce until this date. Such a lack is striking, and a similar absence of documents recording transfers of property exists for Tudela.

Plausible answers can be found for the lack of individual grants that would testify to royal leadership in settling Zaragoza and Tudela. Alfonso did not intend to settle either the city of Zaragoza or Tudela in the year following their conquest; his surrender agreements with the cities' defeated Muslims would have prevented him. The agreements allowed Muslims to continue living with their city's walls and then vacate either Tudela or Zaragoza a year later. Thus Alfonso had no grand plan of resettling the two cities immediately after their conquest.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Much of the document is concerned with judicial procedures, for example, curtailing the ability of knights and *infanzones* to judge people.

<sup>11</sup> For Zaragoza, there exist the *Cartulario pequeño* and the *Cartulario grande*, thirteenth and fourteenth century cartularies respectively, containing many transcriptions of documents from Alfonso's reign. The cartularies are described in "Cartularios de la Seo de Zaragoza," in *Gran enciclopedia aragonesa*, 13 vols. (Zaragoza, 1980-83), 11:3049.

<sup>12</sup> On the surrender agreements, see Lacarra, *Aragón*, 62-63. The royal document

Another answer comes from an understanding of Alfonso's military campaigns in the Ebro after he conquered these cities. Alfonso took Zaragoza in December 1118 and then marched on Tudela by February 1119, only three months after Zaragoza's capture. Following Tudela's capture, Alfonso spent the next year and a half earning his sobriquet "the Battler" by fighting his way through the Ebro River Valley, seizing other cities, repulsing Muslim counterattacks, and mopping up the last remnants of Muslim resistance. As Alfonso's itinerary reveals, demands of conquest probably prevented him from settling such newly conquered prizes as Zaragoza, even if it were his plan to do so. Even after 1121 when more documents, both private and royal, appear, Alfonso's efforts at settlement seem token at best. In short, settlement did not always follow an area's conquest, nor was settlement always the major goal of Alfonso, the leader of the Aragonese Reconquista.

If this were true for Zaragoza and Tudela, then what about other major areas of Alfonso's Ebro conquests? The fortunate survival of a cluster of royal grants from 1124 allows us to examine the relationship between settlement and conquest in the Bajo Aragón, the territory south of the Ebro River, forming the ill-defined southern borderlands of Alfonso's kingdom with Islamic Spain. From October to November 1124 Alfonso granted to various individuals and groups lands and settlements in the region: undeveloped lands at Cariñena were given to a Pere Ramon to develop; María del Huerva, a former Muslim village, was granted to a group of Christian settlers; various castles at such places as Alcañicejo were given to a group of settlers from Castile; and finally the village of Singra was turned over to the monastery of San Juan de la Peña.<sup>13</sup>

This cluster of obscure grants is important evidence revealing Alfonso's intentions to bolster the defense of and to foster settlement in his southern lands bordering Islamic Spain. The political and military history of this region indicates that reasons of defense may have motivated him to issue these grants. A border region, the Bajo

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granting the rights of *infanzones* to Zaragoza's settlers probably immediately applied to those Christians settling outside Zaragoza.

<sup>13</sup> For Pere Ramon's grant, see *CDA*, no. 130 (September 1124); for María del Huerva, see no. 134 (December 1124); for the castles, see no. 133 (December 1124); and for Singra, see no. 132 (1124). The grant of Singra was made at Daroca. Therefore it was probably issued in the period from September to December 1124 when Alfonso was either in the Bajo Aragon or Zaragoza and its surrounding area issuing grants mainly concerned with this southern portion of his kingdom.

Aragón was undoubtedly subject to raids and attacks from Islamic Valencia. Belchite, a major city of the region, may have been the object of Muslim attacks in 1123; consequently, this border area with Muslim-controlled Spain would have needed support.<sup>14</sup> Alfonso's establishment of Christian settlers at the formerly Muslim village of María del Huerva partly served this aim, since the Battler granted the village to Christian settlers "for the confusion of pagans and defense of Christians."<sup>15</sup> One might discount the phrase as mere charter rhetoric, but it certainly contains a kernel of truth. Alfonso also issued the grants for the Bajo Aragón usually while he was present there and within the space of four months in 1124. This suggests that he had a specific goal in mind for the area.<sup>16</sup>

Alfonso probably intended to bolster the Christian control and defense of the southern borderlands of the Ebro region with Islamic Spain, as the documentary evidence suggests; but the Battler's efforts did not coincide with his initial conquests of the area. The grants were issued at least four years after the capture of the southern borderlands' main cities like Belchite, taken in 1118, and Daroca, taken in 1120.<sup>17</sup> The delay suggests that settlement was not always a pressing issue for Alfonso. In fact Alfonso's efforts in the southern borderlands may have not been guided by any master plan of settling conquered lands; only the danger of Muslim pressure on the region dictated the Battler's actions there. While it is true that the previously discussed *carta puebla* issued by Alfonso for Belchite in 1119 may represent a major effort at settlement, Alfonso's efforts of 1124 stand out as unusual. His actions may only appear unusual because of lacunae in records resulting from the loss of documents for the period from 1119 to 1124. There consequently may have been other

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<sup>14</sup> On the attack on Belchite, see Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón*, 168. Lacarra maintained that Alfonso's goal in 1124 was to bolster the Christian hold on and defense of the Bajo Aragón; see his *Aragón*, 57.

<sup>15</sup> *CDA*, no. 134 (December 1124): "Pro confusionem et defensionem christianorum."

<sup>16</sup> Alfonso was at Monreal del Campo, in the Jiloca River valley, at least from September through October. See *CDA*, no. 130 (September 1124), and no. 131 (October 1124). No Alfonsine documents survive from the month of November. In December Alfonso turned up at Zaragoza and at a village on the Ebro upriver from Zaragoza called Gallur. See *CDA*, nos. 133 (December 1124), 134 (December 1124). This suggests that Alfonso passed the fall of 1124 either south of the Ebro River or along the Ebro itself.

<sup>17</sup> On the conquest of these cities, see Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón*, 157–58, 163–64.



strong attempts to settle the region. Still, if Alfonso had already settled the Bajo Aragón, then why would he need to undertake the settlement of 1124? The most plausible explanation is that such efforts had been lacking, something that Alfonso had to correct in 1124. That an area might receive royal attention only years after its conquest was probably nothing extraordinary during Alfonso's reign. Military conquest and royal settlement were not necessarily companions in the Ebro conquests of Alfonso the Battler.

One final piece of evidence will be adduced to demonstrate the often unsubstantial connection between conquest and settlement and royal leadership of settlement. This is Alfonso's grant in 1117 of a district called Añesa to the important Aragonese nobleman Lop Garcés Peregrino.<sup>18</sup> Añesa was located in the Cinco Villas, a region north of the Ebro River that Alfonso had conquered by 1106, during the early stages of his war against Iberian Islam.<sup>19</sup> This apparently routine grant is important because it helps prove that Alfonso had never tried to develop or settle Añesa, although it had been part of the royal patrimony for some eleven years. Other charter evidence related to this grant, from a Templar cartulary, shows that neither Alfonso nor his royal official nor Lop knew the grant's boundaries. To remedy this Christian ignorance, local Muslims had to be called upon to identify Añesa's boundaries under the supervision of the king's *merino* (royal official) for the area.<sup>20</sup> At least in the case of Añesa

<sup>18</sup> CDA, no. 81 (March 1117): "Ego Adefonsus . . . facio hanc cartam donationis uobis, Lope Garcez Peregrino . . . dono . . . uobis illa pardina de Anniesia cum suo termino." Añesa has now disappeared, but its location in the Cinco Villas region has been identified by Agustín Ubieto Arteta, *Toponomía aragonesa medieval* (Valencia, 1972), 31. I deduce Lop's importance from his many lordships during Alfonso's reign, for which see idem, *Los "tenentes" en Aragón y Navarra en los siglos XI y XII* (Valencia, 1973), 245. Lop probably died in Alfonso's disastrous campaign against Mequinenza and Fraga in 1133–34. His name disappears at this time from the list of lords and their lordships found in the eschatocol of royal documents.

<sup>19</sup> On the conquest of Ejea, the chief town of the Cinco Villas, in 1106, see Afif Turk, *El reino de Zaragoza en el siglo XI de Cristo (V de la Hégira)* (Madrid, 1978), 121; and Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Alfonso VI, 1065–1109* (Princeton, 1988), 323.

<sup>20</sup> Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Códices, *Cartulario de la Orden del Temple*, Sig. 595–B, fol. 149r.: "Hec est carta de aumentia de Segnor Lop Arceze Pelegrin et Banzo Fertugnons, merino del rei, cum illo segnor de Exeia. Et adduxerunt illa algema de Exeia ad partir ill termino de Anessa et de Exeia." The "algema" is, of course, the *aljama*, the local community of Muslims. At the end of the document the names of the Muslim witnesses are listed. This document is undated, but I assume that it was drawn up sometime after the original grant of 1117, to record the determination of the boundary between Añesa and Ejea.

Christian settlement did not follow conquest; rather prolonged inattention did. Alfonso undoubtedly had much time to grant Añesa to an Aragonese lord before 1117 but did not, and one plausible interpretation of this inaction is indifference on the part of Alfonso.<sup>21</sup> In truth Alfonso, often considered the main organizer of settlement by most scholars, seems little occupied with this matter in some areas of his conquests.

One final observation can be squeezed from Alfonso's grant of Añesa to the Aragonese noble Lop Garcés Peregrino. The grant's probable purpose was to curry favor with an important Aragonese noble. Although a byproduct, Alfonso's immediate goal was not to settle Añesa; rather it was to achieve political success with a man who was Alfonso's ally but also potential enemy. The lands of his Ebro conquests constituted a political resource that Alfonso manipulated in the political games played between king and lords. Such grants were a time-honored practice that all medieval monarchs used to forge, cement, or renew alliances with the nobility, and Alfonso was no exception. Christian settlement and development of the Ebro for purposes of defense, such as the case of Bajo Aragón in 1124, may have sometimes dictated royal settlement; but it was not always the immediate, decisive reason for royal grants. Too insistent on the needs of Christian settlement created by conquest, scholars should also be concerned with the practical reasons motivating Alfonso in his grants of properties from the lands of his Ebro conquests.<sup>22</sup>

Many areas of Alfonso's Ebro conquests remained almost exclusively Mudejar (the name given to Muslims under Christian rule) until the sixteenth century, and thereafter exclusively Morisco (the Christian descendants of Mudejars) demonstrating that Christian settlement did not naturally follow Christian military victory. In various lesser villages of the Ebro Christians were truly an oddity, a minority in numbers, although ruling the Muslim majority. For example in some villages the only Christians to be found were the priest, notary, and tavern keeper, while the rest of the inhabitants were Muslim or,

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<sup>21</sup> It is also of interest that as late as 1157 the Templars were establishing settlers in Añesa, suggesting that it had never truly experienced serious development. See *Documentos*, no. 386 (1157) for the *carta puebla* issued by the Templars to the settlers of Añesa.

<sup>22</sup> See note 4 for scholars of Aragonese history who have concentrated strictly on reasons of defense and settlement for royal land grants.

later, Morisco.<sup>23</sup> Clearly settlement and conquest were not companions in such villages as these.

The geographical scope of new settlements in Aragon during Alfonso's reign reveals that the Ebro was not always the focus of settlement. Scholars have concentrated on Alfonso as the settler, naturally, of the Ebro frontier because the frontier required the security represented by Christian settlement. This is only an incomplete description, though, of Alfonso as the leader of Aragonese settlement (if indeed he were). Alfonso's efforts reflect an active interest in fostering settlement in the interior of his Aragonese realm and not just on the frontier, where his efforts often seem minimal at best. For example, Alfonso commissioned groups of Christian settlers in apparently abandoned villages of the pre-Pyrenean plains north of the Ebro River, that is, in the interior of his realm. This area receiving royal attention had been conquered from the Muslims some thirty years before, both by Alfonso's brother Pedro I and their father Sancho I. In 1096 Pedro had won special glory with his conquest of Huesca, the major city of these plains. Alfonso commissioned settlement in 1128 at Confitá around Barbastro; in 1128 at Barbués only seventeen kilometers from Huesca; in 1127 at Tormos, to the southwest of Huesca in the area of Cinco Villas; and at Ayerbe, thirty-nine kilometers to the northwest of Huesca, at an undetermined date.<sup>24</sup> The grants show that the area around Huesca, an important city in the Kingdom of Aragon, was an active location for royal efforts at settlement, even thirty years after its conquest. Especially indicative of the slow nature of settlement is the grant of Tormos. In 1091 Sancho I had granted Tormos and Biota to Fortún and Sancho Aznárez, with the command to settle; thirty-six years later Alfonso I, in a *carta puebla*, repeated the royal command to settle the area.<sup>25</sup>

Alfonso targeted other areas of the interior for royal settlement;

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<sup>23</sup> José María Lacarra, "La Reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro," in *Estudios*, 226. When the Morisco descendants of the original Muslims were expelled from Aragon in 1609–10, they numbered perhaps 20% of the total population. Much of the Morisco population was located in the province of Zaragoza, the scene of Alfonso's greatest conquests. See Henri Lapeyre, *Geografía de la España morisca*, trans. Luis C. Rodríguez García (Valencia, 1986), 116–18.

<sup>24</sup> For Confitá, see *CDA*, no. 202 (December 1128); for Barbués, no. 197 (August 1128); for Tormos, no. 167 (February 1127), and for Bañaries, no. 228; for Ayerbe, no. 145 (February 1125). In the last document Alfonso mentioned the "fuero quod dedi quando primum populaui illo burgo supradicto [Ayerbe]," suggesting that the resettlement had taken place before this charter was issued in February 1125.

<sup>25</sup> *CDA*, no. 167 (February 1127); María Ledesma Rubio, "La colonización de las

but one was the pre-Pyrenean mountain ranges of the Navarrese-Aragonese border. Here, Alfonso concentrated new settlements near already existing towns and villages. Puilampa (near Sádaba) was given to Andres, the son of the French count Huas of Chalon, to repopulate, using settlers from Uncastillo. In the pre-Pyrenean mountains, Alfonso established an additional settlement at Luesia, under Christian rule since the middle of the tenth century. In Navarre he established settlers in a new town to be built next to Sangüesa.<sup>26</sup>

The Battler's actions at such a place as Sangüesa demonstrate his plan to increase the size of settlements in the pre-Pyrenean mountain ranges. Yet his efforts at settlement in areas that had been under Christian control since the tenth century seem curious and require explanation. A newly-expanded town like Sangüesa was located along the famed pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, the second-most popular pilgrimage site, after Rome, in all western Europe.<sup>27</sup> Consequently Alfonso may have been trying to build up this area to meet the needs of pilgrims. Or perhaps he was trying to fortify the Navarrese-Aragonese border, since Luesia, Sangüesa, and Puilampa were all important defensive sites.<sup>28</sup>

Whatever Alfonso's motivations, his settlement of his realm's interior does demonstrate that the Ebro was less than the highest priority for royal settlement under Alfonso. In turn this suggests that he did not distinguish between settling the Ebro frontier and the interior of his realm. To emphasize the settlement of the Ebro at the expense of Alfonso's settlement of areas throughout Aragon misunderstands the nature of royal settlement that was as active—and perhaps even more so—in the interior than on the frontier. This may have resulted from the danger of the frontier, especially the

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Cinco Villas," *Actas de las II jornadas de estudio sobre las Cinco Villas. Sos del Rey Católico, diciembre 1986* (Ejea de los Caballeros, 1986[?]), 50.

<sup>26</sup> For Puilampa, see *CDA*, no. 264 (1133); for Luesia, no. 157 (1125); and for Sangüesa, no. 107 (1122).

<sup>27</sup> Sangüesa's role in the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela is discussed in Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Riu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1949), 427–28.

<sup>28</sup> On the Navarrese-Aragonese border and the defensive role of such towns as Luesia, see Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón*, 24–27, 36–43; and José Aragües Aldaz, "Luesia, Sibirana y las fuentes del Arba en la Frontera Superior de al-Andalus," in *Actas sobre las Cinco Villas*, 33–46. On settlement in Luesia in the twelfth century, see idem, "Algunos datos en torno a la repoblación de Luesia en el siglo XII," in *Actas sobre las Cinco Villas*, 63–76. Aragües Aldaz does not discuss reasons for Luesia's settlement in the twelfth century.

Bajo Aragón, a place constantly exposed to Muslim raids, where one's crops could be lost in a moment, and where one was subject to Muslim captivity and subsequent slavery. At Belchite, for example, settlers had to be enticed with offers of pardons for murderers, thieves and other evildoers.<sup>29</sup> For this reason, Alfonso may have been more active in settling the interior of his realms than such areas of the Ebro frontier as the Bajo Aragón, either by sponsoring settlement, or, more likely, by authorizing settlement, as persons sought independently to move into Aragon's pre-Pyrenean plains, now protected by the buffer of the Ebro. If the Ebro were a frontier because it needed strong Christian settlement, then the Ebro only continued a frontier that began in Old Aragon.

If the king were not the main agent of frontier settlement, and if settlement on the Aragonese frontier seems erratically organized, then who or what were the key agents of the Christian settlement? This essay has centered so far on King Alfonso and his leadership in settling the Ebro frontier, concentrating on a predominant institution—the monarchy—as a chief agent of Christian settlement. In so doing this essay has not strayed from traditional historiographical approaches to the study of the Iberian frontier; they too concentrate on the dominant institutions of the day as the chief agents of Christian settlement. Besides the king, other institutions receiving scholarly scrutiny in Reconquista and frontier settlement historiography are the church—whether bishop, monastery, or military order—and the great nobility.<sup>30</sup>

More was at work on the Iberian frontier, though, than the dominant institutions of the medieval day. At least this is true for the Aragonese frontier in the twelfth century, where there existed a group of landholders who held their possessions independent of king or great nobility, both lay and ecclesiastical. The presence of these obscure persons of lesser social rank, who perhaps—indeed, probably—never received royal grants of property, played an important role in the Christian settlement of the Ebro. Evidence for this group of landholders comes from numerous documents recording alienation of property by persons either commoners or, at best, only members of

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<sup>29</sup> *CDA*, no. 95, (December 1119): "Ad totos homines de tota mea terra, homicieros, latrones et malifatores postquam ad Belgit... uenerint populare... sedeant ibi ingenui et liberi sine ullo cisso malo."

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Emilio Cabrera, "Del Tajo a Sierra Moderna," in *Organización social del espacio*, 136–38; González Plasencia, *Repoblación de Castilla*, 1:263–87, 2:161; and González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement," 53–55.

the petty nobility of Aragonese society, the *infanzones*. With their economic rights to hold and to assart land freely, *infanzones* would have made ideal settlers for newly conquered lands.<sup>31</sup> The exchange of property among these persons created an active land market, a major means of moving property among the Christians settling the Ebro frontier. What is striking about the Ebro land market is the absence of seignorial or royal intervention and the absence of reciprocal obligations among those exchanging land. This is contrary to what one would expect in the feudal world of twelfth-century Europe.

What mattered in transactions, instead of traditional notions of feudal holding of land, was the payment of the proper price in money for property. This was the major obligation between parties in land transactions, and once the buyer had discharged this responsibility, the former holder's ties to the alienated property were severed. This can be proven both by the technical language of the transaction indicating that the property was held freely after a sale and by tracing the history of individual properties, something which can be occasionally done.<sup>32</sup> Since Christians were buying properties from Christians, this ensured that property continued to circulate among Christians, that Christians continued to acquire property, and that their residence was established in the Ebro. Thus this land market and its participants stand as an independent agent of Christian settlement. This informal settlement—informal in the sense that it was not necessarily directed by the king, church, or nobility—was perhaps the major contribution to Christian settlement on the Aragonese frontier of Alfonso I.<sup>33</sup>

Several substantial objections may be raised against the positions argued here, that settlement and conquest did not always coincide,

<sup>31</sup> I deduce the status of these persons from the absence of such honorific titles as *don*, *señor*, or *dominus*, and from the absence of these persons in the holding of lordships under Alfonso. On the legal status and rights of the Aragonese *infanzón*, see note 5.

<sup>32</sup> For examples of private transactions from both Zaragoza and Tudela, see *Documentos*, nos. 64 (1119–1129), 71 (1120), 72 (1121), 73 (1121), 74 (1121), 78 (1121), 83 (1122), 90 (1123), 93 (1123), 95 (1124), 99 (1124), 100 (1124), 108 (1124), 114 (1125), 129 (1126), 134 (1126), 139 (1127), 140 (1127), 156 (1128), 163 (1128), 177 (1129), 178 (1129), 180 (1129), 193 (1130), 215 (1132), 216 (1132).

<sup>33</sup> This has been pointed out for other areas, in different eras, of the Iberian frontier. See Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 1:439, for example. It has not been emphasized for Aragon during the reign of Alfonso when it has been assumed that he directed the settlement of the Ebro (see note 3).

that Alfonso at best was only an erratic leader of settlement on the Ebro frontier, and that settlement along this part of the Iberian frontier remained informal, rather than representing a major change to more formal processes of settlement directed by king, nobility, and church. One problem is to take the methodological misstep of assuming that the present-day absence of documents recording royal land grants always results from Alfonso's inaction. What should not be overlooked is the withering effect of time that could have destroyed the records of Alfonso's settlement of cities and regions of the Ebro. Yet the documentation surviving from Tudela and Zaragoza is the greatest for any area of Alfonso's Ebro; it is only lacking for the immediate post-conquest period.<sup>34</sup> This may be only a fluke of the surviving evidence or it may, more plausibly, also reflect the fact that settlement did not have much momentum for two or three years after Zaragoza's conquest.

An even stronger criticism is the probable lack of numbers of population to settle the Ebro. The general consensus holds that Old Aragon probably lacked the surplus population with which to stock the newly-conquered Ebro lands, anyway. This is also the general lament of scholars noting the tardy progress of frontier settlement in other areas of Iberia.<sup>35</sup> It must be conceded that the lack of settlers probably hindered settlement in some way. Yet the lack of population may have not been as troublesome as some scholars have maintained. Studies of twelfth-century Aragonese demography are in short supply, for no other reason than that the sources adequate for conducting such research are obviously lacking. The estimable Aragonese scholar Antonio Ubieto Arteta, recently deceased, has ventured into this difficult area. Using such evidence as witness lists from royal documents, Ubieto concluded that, beginning in the twelfth century, the *pueblos* of the Aragonese Pyrenees lost population, while the pre-Pyrenean plains of Aragon gained people, as did such places as Zaragoza.<sup>36</sup> If Ubieto is correct, then the Aragonese in the twelfth century were moving from the Pyrenees to the Ebro, which, after

<sup>34</sup> See note 11 on this matter.

<sup>35</sup> For Aragon, see, for example, de Moxó, *Repoblación*, 300. The demographic problems in the settlement of Andalusia are ably discussed by Manuel González Jiménez, *En torno a los orígenes de Andalucía: La repoblación del siglo XIII* (Seville, 1980), 43–46, 79–81. Also see his "Frontier and Settlement," 73. For Toledo, see González Plasencia, *Repoblación de Castilla*, 1:108–9.

<sup>36</sup> Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "Sobre demografía aragonesa del siglo XII," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, 7 (1962), 584–86.

all, is not that great a distance, perhaps one hundred kilometers in some places. Even if the Aragonese lacked large numbers, this was not necessary to settle the Ebro; a depopulation of the Pyrenees because of migration to such places as the Pre-Pyrenean plains and to the Ebro's major cities like Zaragoza may have compensated for a small population base. Besides the Aragonese, the movement of southern French into Aragon, especially to the major Ebro cities, also should not be overlooked.<sup>37</sup> The numbers may have been there to settle the Ebro, even if they were not there to populate all of Aragon.<sup>38</sup>

This scenario is conjecture, but any argument concerning the Iberian frontier's settlement based on population is also conjecture, for adequate data with which to construct sound demographic arguments is lacking.<sup>39</sup> That the lack of population hindered settlement and accounts for the gap between conquest and settlement, therefore, is an argument from silence. If population were the major stumbling block to successful settlement of the Ebro, then why could Alfonso manage to find settlers for the Bajo Aragón in 1124 when he needed them? If Alfonso oversaw settlement, and if his goal were that settlement follow conquest, then why did he wait eleven years to grant Añesa, which he had clearly not tried to develop, to Lop Garcés Peregrino? The burden of proof rests on those who would claim that the lack of population hindered settlement and accounts for the gap between conquest and subsequent settlement. At some point scholars need to define what adequate numbers of settlers were for the Ebro frontier: adequate enough to settle all the lands, even the mesas, plains, and mountain ranges of the Ebro basin traditionally little settled

<sup>37</sup> Charles Higounet, "Mouvements de population dans le Midi de la France du XI<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 8 (1953), 2-9; Pilar García Mouton, "Los franceses en Aragón (siglos XI-XII)," *Archivo de filología aragonesa*, 26-27 (1979), 7-98; José María Lacarra, "Los franceses en la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro en tiempos de Alfonso el Batallador," in *Colonización*, 151-169.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Robert Bartlett's contention that the general movement of Europe's population was from the "core" to the frontier. This observation fits well with what I have just argued based on Ubieto's work. There was a general migration of the Aragonese from their "core" (Old Aragon) to the frontier (the Ebro), especially to such cities as Zaragoza, which were especially attractive places to settle. The Bajo Aragón would have been less so because of this area's exposed border with Islamic Iberia. See Bartlett's *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change 950-1350* (Princeton, 1993), 111-12.

<sup>39</sup> For example, González Jiménez notes that the lack of documentation makes demographic explanations for Andalusia's settlement provisional. See his *En torno*, 45, 80.



in the history, including contemporary history, of Aragon? Or adequate numbers of settlers for the river valleys, the most important agricultural sites of the Ebro basin and traditionally the most populated? If Muslim Zaragoza had a population of 25,000 persons, as some scholars have estimated, then what is the number of Christians constituting its successful settlement: 5,000, 10,000, or 25,000?

These are the kinds of questions that need to be asked not only about the settlement of the Ebro but about settlement along the Iberian frontier in general. Assumptions prevalent in the study of the settlement of the medieval Iberian frontier have left important questions unexplored. The result is that standard interpretations of frontier settlement—that conquest and settlement were closely related, or that only a lack of population prevented such settlement—are relied on to explain the processes of settlement without considering the immediate context in which settlement occurred and the motivations of those carrying it out. Nor do these standard interpretations account for, as this essay has tried to show, all evidence concerning the relationship between conquest and settlement. Although the outlines of twelfth-century Christian settlement along the Iberian frontier in such places as Aragon have been confirmed, I would suggest that the internal dynamics of frontier settlement have yet to be worked out.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Cf. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, 85.

MEANS OF EXCHANGE:  
ISLAMIC COINAGE IN CHRISTIAN SPAIN, 1000–1200

*James J. Todesca*

The Poem of the Cid opens with its hero preparing to go into exile as he has lost favor with the king of Castile. With most of his wealth forfeited to the crown, he must rely on a ruse to get cash from the Jewish moneylenders Rachel and Vidas. The Cid presents two sealed trunks loaded with sand and claims they are filled with Islamic gold coins, part of a Moorish tribute payment that he embezzled from the king.<sup>1</sup> Since this illicit treasure is too heavy to travel with safely, he asks Rachel and Vidas to keep the chests without opening them for a year. In return, they agree to lend him the money he needs for his journey which they pay in gold and silver coins. Presumably, the gold was paid in dinars, the gold denomination of Islam, while the silver was rendered in denarii. The denarius, or dinero, was a Christian coin of base silver alloy worth only a fraction of the Islamic dinar. Rachel and Vidas are warned that if the Cid returns and finds the chests tampered with, he will not pay back even one “dinero malo.”<sup>2</sup>

Composed most likely in the first decade of the thirteenth century, the Poem of the Cid purports to treat events more than one hundred years earlier.<sup>3</sup> Though the scene with the trunks is apocryphal, it illustrates the unique character of Christian Spain's economy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. At a time when most of feudal Europe used only the low-value denarius, the Latin states of Spain

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<sup>1</sup> The Cid's trunks, described as “lleno de oro esmerado,” are assumed to be filled with coin rather than bullion. Rachel and Vidas remark, “non duerme sin sospecha qui aver trae monedado. Estas arcas prendámoslas amas, en logar las metamos que non sean ventadas.” *The Poem of the Cid*, ed. I. Michael (Manchester, 1975), lines 113, 126–28; see lines 78–212 for the entire incident of the loan.

<sup>2</sup> *Poem*, line 165: “Non les diesse Mio Cid de la ganancia un dinero malo.” Though he attempts to interpret the monetary citations too rigorously, cf. F. Mateu y Llopis, “La moneda en el ‘Poema del Cid,’” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 20 (1947), 43–56.

<sup>3</sup> On the date of the poem, see J.J. Duggan, *The ‘Cantar de mio Cid’: Poetic Creation in its Economic and Social Contexts* (Cambridge, 1989), 5–12, 82–107. R. Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (London, 1989), 192–93, is inclined to accept a slightly earlier date.

also accrued gold coin from al-Andalus, the Muslim portion of the peninsula.

Gold flowed to the Latin kingdoms as a result of a radical shift in the Iberian balance of power. Since the mid-eighth century, al-Andalus had been unified under Umayyad rule which kept the Christian kingdoms largely confined to the mountainous regions of the north. The death of the caliph al-Ḥakam II (961–76), however, set in motion a power struggle that the Umayyad dynasty did not survive. By 1031, the caliphate had splintered into small kingdoms, the so-called *taifa* states, whose rulers jealously guarded their independence from one another. The Christian princes took advantage of this disunity by gradually establishing what Angus MacKay has labeled a protection racket.<sup>4</sup> In exchange for tribute payments, called *parias*, they agreed not to attack the *taifa* kings. While the *parias* system reached its peak in the late eleventh century, tribute continued to be an important source of income for the Christian rulers in the following century.

Well before Europe's so-called "return to gold" in the thirteenth century, then, Latin Spain was regularly importing gold dinars.<sup>5</sup> But since this stock of gold was gained largely by political extortion rather than trade, we must ask whether it played a significant role in the overall economy. The Vikings had carried large sums of silver coin back to Scandinavia, but it was often treated as bullion and summarily hoarded alongside silver plate and jewelry.<sup>6</sup> Did Spanish lords like the Cid now find themselves with large sums of gold which they valued as treasure but had little practical use for as money?

The documentary record is too vague and incomplete to adequately answer this question. Particularly for León-Castile, we frequently know of *paria* payments only from narrative sources and have little direct

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<sup>4</sup> A. MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500* (London, 1977), 15–26. D.J. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain 1002–1086* (Princeton, 1985), 15–81, outlines Umayyad rule in Spain and the emergence of the *taifas*.

<sup>5</sup> R.S. Lopez, "Back to Gold, 1252," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 9 (1956), 219–40; A.M. Watson, "Back to Gold—and Silver," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 20 (1967), 1–34.

<sup>6</sup> The extent of commerce in Viking-age Scandinavia remains the subject of debate. See P. Sawyer, "Coins and Commerce," in *Sigtuna Papers: Proceedings of the Sigtuna Symposium on Viking-Age Coinage, 1–4 June, 1984*, ed. K. Jonsson and B. Malmer (Stockholm, 1990), 283–88; cf. D.M. Metcalf, "Some Twentieth-Century Runes: Statistical Analysis of the Viking-Age Hoards and the Interpretation of Wastage Rates," in *Viking-Age Coinage in the Northern Lands: The Sixth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. M. Blackburn and D.M. Metcalf (Oxford, 1981), 347.

evidence as to how this gold was ultimately used. The coins themselves, however, provide invaluable help. Above all, various imitations of Islamic dinars survive today that were struck in Christian Spain before the thirteenth century. What purpose did these coins serve if not to fulfill some economic niche?<sup>7</sup> This paper surveys the numismatic and diplomatic evidence relating to the assimilation of Islamic monetary standards in Christian Spain during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Though conclusions at times remain tenuous, an overall pattern emerges that shows the Islamic dinar played an integral role alongside the denarius in the expanding economy of the time.

Before the tenth century, the gold dinar was rare in Iberia. For nearly two hundred years, the Umayyad rulers of al-Andalus had minted only silver dirhams. In 929, however, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (912–61) adopted the rank of caliph in place of the lesser title of emir used by his predecessors and began to strike gold dinars.<sup>8</sup> His new self-imposed dignity was probably in reaction to the rising power of the Fatimids in North Africa. On a more pragmatic level, he and his immediate successors moved to strengthen their position in the Maghrib against Fatimid encroachment. This ultimately gave the Umayyads better access to the Ghana gold trade running through Sijilmāsa and allowed them to continue to strike good quality dinars through the tenth century.<sup>9</sup>

At the same time, the Christian kingdoms of the north had developed only a limited monetary economy, shaped mainly by influences from across the Pyrenees. The Carolingians had adopted the silver penny or denarius as the main coin of their empire and minted it throughout their domains including Catalonia. Louis the Pious (814–40) struck denarii in Barcelona and Ampurias and a mint probably

<sup>7</sup> While he addresses only the twelfth-century imitations, see J.I. Sáenz-Díez, "Early Gold Coinages of the Reconquest: A Critical Review of the Theories About Their Introduction," in *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area III* [hereafter, *Problems III*], ed. M. Gomes Marques and D.M. Metcalf (Santarém, 1988), 547–53.

<sup>8</sup> Dinars were struck briefly in Spain after the Muslim invasion but halted before the Umayyads assumed power in 756. G.C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain* (New York, 1950), 24 n. 6, 28; see also M. Barceló, "El hiato en las acuñaciones de oro en al-Andalus, 127–316/744(5)–936(7) (los datos fundamentales de un problema)," *Moneda y Crédito*, 132 (1975), 33–34. Barceló's title gives A.D. 936(7) for the resumption of gold, but this is clearly a misprint. It should read 928(9).

<sup>9</sup> The Umayyads eventually minted dinars in Sijilmāsa itself. Miles, *Umayyads*, 46; J.I. Sáenz-Díez, *Las acuñaciones del califato de Córdoba en el norte de África* (Madrid, 1984), 63–68; J.F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, 1975), 119.

continued in Barcelona under Charles the Bald (840–77). But with the decline of the Carolingian economy in the tenth century, minting was reduced throughout much of the west Frankish lands. Though some Catalan lords and bishops struck coins in this era, these issues were likely sporadic. The *solidus argenti*, the Frankish unit of account equivalent to twelve *denarii*, appears in Catalan charters of the period but frequently as an abstract standard of value to assess in-kind payments.<sup>10</sup> Further west, in the kingdoms of Aragon, Navarre and León-Castile, there is no evidence of minting before the eleventh century. Nevertheless, *denarii* from Catalonia and beyond infiltrated the region to some extent for the *solidus argenti* is quoted in local charters, though again it is used largely as a money of account.<sup>11</sup>

The *solidus argenti* of the Latin documents may also have been paid in silver *dirhams* on occasion. The coin was minted continuously

<sup>10</sup> For Louis the Pious' Catalan issues see K.F. Morrison and H. Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage* (New York, 1967), 141–42; for Charles the Bald, see P. Beltrán Villagrasa, "Interpretación del usatge 'Solidus aureus,'" *Memorial Numismática Español*, 2d ser. (1921), 20–23. The early, autonomous Catalan coinages are reviewed in M. Crusafont i Sabater, *Numismática de la corona catalano-aragonesa medieval (785–1516)* (Madrid, 1982), 30–44; see also M. Crusafont i Sabater, A.M. Balaguer, and I.M. Puig i Ferreté, "Els comtats catalans: Les seves encunyacions i àrees d'influència," in *Symposium Numismático de Barcelona* [hereafter *Symposium*], (Barcelona, 1979), 1:377–411, 426. For the decline in monetary circulation in Francia, see P. Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), 59–61; cf. P. Nightingale, "The Evolution of Weight-Standards and the Creation of New Monetary and Commercial Links in Northern Europe from the Tenth Century to the Twelfth Century," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 38 (1985), 196–97. An overview of monetary citations from tenth-century Catalan documents can be found in O. Gil Farrés, "La circulación monetaria en la península hispánica entre 711 y 1100 de J.C.," *Quaderns ticinesis di numismatica e antichità classiche*, 10 (1981), 388–89.

<sup>11</sup> J. Gautier-Dalché, "L'histoire monétaire de l'Espagne septentrionale et centrale du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Quelques réflexions sur divers problèmes," in *Economie et société dans les pays de la Couronne de Castille* (London, 1982), 43–95, provides tabular summaries of much of the relevant documentation; see also Departamento de Historia Medieval de la Universidad de Oviedo, "Circulación monetaria en Asturias durante la alta edad media (siglos VII–XII)," *Numisma*, 34 (1984), 239–59. Sánchez Albornoz's conviction that western Spain was so cut off from the rest of Christendom in these centuries that it relied on a mixture of old Roman, Visigothic and Suevic coins is built on a series of assumptions that are in need of reconsideration. For example, the phrase *solidus gallicanus* which appears in a few documents from Galicia in the early 900s logically reflects the infiltration of the *denarius*, i.e., *denarii* from Gaul. This is preferable to the theory that *solidi gallicani* referred to archaic coins of the Suevi, i.e., of Galicia. See primarily C. Sánchez Albornoz, "Moneda de cambio y de cuenta en el reino Astur-Leonés," in *Moneta e scambi nell' Alto Medioevo*, Centro Italiano di Studi Sull' Alto Medioevo, Settimane di Studio 8 (Spoleto, 1961), 171–202; also C. Sánchez Albornoz, "La primitiva organización monetaria de León y Castilla," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, 5 (1928), 301–45.

in Córdoba throughout the Umayyad period and some invariably trickled north.<sup>12</sup> The dirham, however, was almost twice as heavy as the denarius and of a higher grade of silver.<sup>13</sup> When used in the Christian north, dirhams may have been weighed to approximate the value of twelve denarii or at times clipped down in size.<sup>14</sup> Whichever the case, it was not until the turn of the millennium and the disintegration of the caliphate that Muslim coin, particularly gold dinars, began reaching the Christian north in enough quantity to be regularly cited in the Latin sources.<sup>15</sup>

The death of al-Ḥakam II in 976 left his ten year old son as heir. The boy, Hishām II (976–1009, 1010–13), became caliph in name, but dictatorial control fell to the minister Ibn Abī ‘Āmir, who adopted the title al-Manṣūr. Al-Manṣūr’s power rested precariously on an army largely composed of Slavs from Europe and Berbers from North Africa. After his death in 1002, his two sons held his office in succession, but the second was overthrown and killed in 1009. This ignited two decades of political chaos fueled by ethnic rivalry between traditional Andalusian society and the unassimilated Slav and Berber factions. Claimants to the caliphal throne rose and fell rapidly in Córdoba until finally in 1031 the exhausted town expelled the last of these

<sup>12</sup> The specialized term *solidus argenti kacimi* without question referred to a unit of silver dirhams. But it is frequently overlooked that this phrase only emerged in Latin charters in the second half of the tenth century and cannot be taken as evidence that the silver dirham had always been common in the Christian north. P. Chalmeta in “Précisions au sujet du monnayage hispano-arabe (dirham *qāsimi* et dirham *arba’ini*),” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 24 (1981), 316–21, provides the first critical review of the documentary evidence.

<sup>13</sup> The dirham *kayl*, the theoretical, legal weight of the dirham, was approximately 2.97 grams. In practice, however, the dirhams of the emirate seemed to have an intended weight between 2.60 and 2.70 grams. A. Canto García and E. Marsal Moyano, “On the Metrology of the Silver Coinage of the Spanish Amirate,” in *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area II*, ed. M. Gomes Marques and M. Crusafont i Sabater (Avilés, 1986), 169–70; see also P. Balog, *Umayyad, ‘Abbāsid and Tulunid Glass Weights and Vessel Stamps* (New York, 1976), 25. Charlemagne had established the denarius as a coin of fine silver with a weight of about 1.7 grams. By the tenth century, depending on the mint, denarii typically weighed around 1.5 grams or less and were increasingly of alloyed silver. The denarius’ reduction in weight and fineness continued in the eleventh century. See Spufford, *Money*, 101–5.

<sup>14</sup> A. de Longpérier, “Monnaie andalouse trouvée à Contres,” *Revue Numismatique*, n.s., 8 (1863), 214–16, reported an Umayyad dirham found in a tomb near Blois, France, that was clipped to the size of a denarius.

<sup>15</sup> The caliphate during its prosperity apparently maintained a balance of trade that kept silver and gold flowing to its markets rather than away. See T.S. Noonan, “The Start of the Silver Crisis in Islam: A Comparative Study of Central Asia and the Iberian Peninsula,” in *Problems III*, 132.

aspirants and the caliphate was abolished in practice if not completely in theory.<sup>16</sup>

In the Christian north, the reaction to the caliphate's disintegration was twofold. León-Castile initially sought to reclaim territory. In 1009, for example, the Count of Castile led an expedition to Córdoba to assist the Berber faction rebelling against the caliph al-Mahdi (1009–10). The price he required for his aid was the return of fortresses taken by al-Manşūr. By contrast, when the counts of Barcelona and Urgel led troops in support of al-Mahdi some months later, they demanded per diem salaries in gold as well as a share of booty.<sup>17</sup>

The Catalans seemed to realize early on the commercial benefits to be gained from Córdoba's decline. Despite Al-Manşūr's sack of Barcelona in 985, gold dinars are cited frequently in Catalan documents in the final decade of the century. This money must have come from a combination of mercenary service, petty border raids and trade. Bonnassie estimated that by the decade 1010–20, nearly ninety percent of surviving transactions in the region of Barcelona expressed prices in gold. In the whole of Catalonia, at least fifty percent of extant transactions were recorded in this fashion. Documents also cite silver dirhams, but gold was quickly becoming the main standard of value. The dinar is quoted not just in records of large land sales, but also in more mundane purchases of grain and livestock. As Bonnassie pointed out, it was used by "all levels of the population."<sup>18</sup>

The generic term in Catalonia for the dinar was *mancus* and society became accustomed enough to these gold pieces to distinguish between different types.<sup>19</sup> The *mancus iafaris* was a dinar of al-Haḡam

<sup>16</sup> Wasserstein, *Party-Kings*, 38–81; cf. D.J. Wasserstein, "Was the Caliphate Abolished in 422/1031?" in *The Caliphate in the West: An Islamic Political Institution in the Iberian Peninsula* (Oxford, 1993), 146–61.

<sup>17</sup> The account is from Ibn 'Idhārī, who wrote in the early fourteenth-century. It is partially translated in C. Melville and A. Ubaydī, *Christians and Moors in Spain*, vol. 3: *Arabic Sources (711–1501)* (Warminster, 1992), 60–65; see further Wasserstein, *Party-Kings*, 63–65.

<sup>18</sup> P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu de X<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Croissance et mutations d'une société*, vol. I (Toulouse, 1975), 373–76, 382–86, for relations between Barcelona and al-Andalus in these decades, 417, 423–25; cf. J.M. Lacarra, "Aspectos económicos de la sumisión de los reinos de taifas (1010–1102)," in *Colonización, parias, repoblación y otros estudios* (Zaragoza, 1981), 44–45; A.M. Balaguer, "*Parias* and The Myth of the Mancus," in *Problems III*, 501–8.

<sup>19</sup> According to Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 373, *mancus* does not appear in Catalan documents before 981. The term was used earlier in other parts of Carolingian Europe for the gold dinars of the 'Abbāsids and Aghlabids. It is fairly common in

II which included the name of his minister Ja'far in its legend. Likewise, *mancus amuris* referred to coins of Hishām II that carried Al-Manṣūr's name, 'Āmir.<sup>20</sup> Alongside these pieces, at least one goldsmith in Barcelona was prompted to introduce his own version of the *mancus*. As early as 1018, a Barcelona document mentions "mancusos . . . de manu Bonnom ebreo" or "mancusos made by the Jew Bonnom." A slightly later document further describes him as the "Jewish goldsmith named Bonnom."<sup>21</sup>

Coin number one (see plates) is one of three known coins that can be identified as this man's work. It is not modeled on the *mancus iafaris* or *amuris* but rather on a dinar of the caliph al-Qāsim ibn Ḥammūd. The Ḥammūdids were a family of Berber-Arab stock who controlled the provincial governorship of Ceuta and had entered the struggle for the caliphal throne. Al-Qāsim succeeded his brother as caliph in 1018, after the latter's murder. He was deposed by his brother's son Yaḥyā in 1021, but returned briefly to power in 1023. Within a year, he was again pushed aside by his nephew and imprisoned. While Yaḥyā managed to keep his uncle confined, he himself was overthrown in 1026, ending the Ḥammūdīd family's bid to rule in Córdoba.<sup>22</sup>

Coin one is modeled on dinars struck by al-Qāsim during his return to Córdoba in 1023. The central legend on the obverse gives

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Italian documents of the ninth century and was later used by the Anglo-Saxons. See P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (Cambridge, 1986), 327, 330. Grierson here overturns the arguments he made in "Carolingian Europe and the Arabs: The Myth of the Mancus," in *Dark Age Numismatics* (London, 1979), 1059–74.

<sup>20</sup> Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 378–79; Miles, *Umayyads*, 59–60, 67–69; for 'Āmir see further F. Codera y Zaidín, *Titulos y nombres propios en las monedas árabe-españolas* (Madrid, 1878), 59.

<sup>21</sup> There are seven known documentary references to *mancusos* of Bonnom dated between 1018 and 1029. In addition, there are several documents mentioning a man named Bonnom who appears to have died before 1036. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 380–81; cf. G.C. Miles, "Bonom de Barcelone," in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal* (Paris, 1962), 690–91. J. Botet y Sisó, *Les monedes catalanes*, vol. 1 (Barcelona, 1908), 44, 51, alludes to a document of 1091 that refers to the *mancus* of Bonnom. Also, A.M. Balaguer, "The Influence of the Moslem Coinages Upon the Monetary Systems of the Medieval Iberian Kingdoms," in *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area I*, ed. M. Gomes Marques (Santarém, 1984), 314, cites a will of 1064 that mentions *mancusos* of Bonnom. The document, as published, however, contains no such reference; see J. Rius, "Cartes antigues de Sant Martí Sacosta," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 4 (1928), 359–62 no. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Wasserstein, *Party-Kings*, 69–78, 100; see also Wasserstein *The Caliphate*, 50–60, 70–73; al-Qāsim should not be confused with the mint master al-Qāsim almost 100 years earlier who lent his name to *solidos kazimi*. See above, n. 12.



## KEY TO THE PLATES

ANS = Collection of the American Numismatic Society

ANS/HSA = Coins of the Hispanic Society of America, on permanent loan to the American Numismatic Society

- no. 1. Bonnom Dinar. ANS 1959.86.1, wt. 3.80 gr., pub. Miles, "Bonom," no. 3.
- no. 2. Dinar of Yaḥyā, Ceuta mint, A.H. 425/A.D. 1033–34. ANS/HSA 1001.57.2334, wt. 4.28 gr.
- no. 3. Imitation Dinar of Yaḥyā. ANS/HSA 1001.57.4121, wt. 2.88 gr., pub. Miles, "Bonom," no. 7.
- no. 4. Imitation of Dinar of Yaḥyā, RAIMVNDVS COMES on rev. ANS/HSA 1001.1.13160, wt. 1.91 gr., pub. Miles, "Bonom," no. 9.
- no. 5. Dirham, Toledo mint, A.H. 479(?)/A.D. 1086–87(?). ANS/HSA 1001.57.4563, wt. 2.57 gr.
- no. 6. Denarius, Toledo mint. ANS/HSA 1001.1.8812, wt. 1.12 gr.
- no. 7. Dinar of Ibn Mardanish, A.H. 544/A.D. 1149–50. ANS/HSA 1001.1.13126, wt. 3.93 gr.
- no. 8. Morabetino *alfonsin*, Era 1223/A.D. 1185. ANS/HSA 1001.1.13209, wt. 3.69 gr.
- no. 9. Morabetino of Fernando II of León (1157–1188). ANS/HSA 1001.1.25563, wt. 3.61 gr.
- no. 10. Morabetino of Sancho I of Portugal (1185–1211). ANS 1983.154.1, wt. 3.74 gr.



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the Islamic profession of faith in three lines followed by the name Muḥammad, al-Qāsim's son and heir apparent. The coin, however, is not an attempt at counterfeit for it clearly reveals its Christian provenance. The border inscription gives the Hijrah date 414 (A.D. 1023–24) but reads "Madinat Barshalūna" or "City of Barcelona" in place of "al-Andalus," the traditional signature of the Córdoba mint. On the reverse, inside an eight-pointed star, al-Qāsim's name and title are reproduced in three lines while the fourth line reads **BONNOM** in bold Latin letters. The marginal inscription on the reverse repeats Barcelona as the mint location and the year.<sup>23</sup> The identification of Barcelona and the Latin rendering of Bonnom's name leave little room to mistake this coin for a genuine Islamic dinar.

The other two known coins of Bonnom also bear his name in Latin but do not give Barcelona as the mint. One of these copies an earlier issue of al-Qāsim from the Córdoba mint. It reads A.H. 408 (A.D. 1017–18) on the obverse and A.H. 409 (A.D. 1018–19) on the reverse. Regardless of this inconsistency, these dates closely correspond to the first mention of Bonnom's mancuso in the documents.<sup>24</sup> The third Bonnom coin has no legible date but appears to be modeled on dinars issued in Zaragoza from c.1026–1032 by the local Tujibid rulers.<sup>25</sup> Like the Tujibid coinage, this piece carries only a

<sup>23</sup> The star motif of Bonnom's coin does not appear on any known dinar of al-Qāsim. It does, however, appear on a dinar dated A.H. 413 attributed to Yaḥyā during his brief tenure as caliph. I. Tawfiq, "Nota sobre el posible origen del mancuso de Bonnom," in *II Jarique de numismàtica hispano-àrab* (Lerida, 1990), 265–66; Miles, "Bonom," 683–93.

<sup>24</sup> H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. 2: *Espagne et Afrique* (1891; reprint, Bologna, 1977), 521 no. 1124; Miles, "Bonom," 684–87. The contradiction in dates on this otherwise carefully crafted piece suggests that it may represent a mule of two dies from successive years, implying that Bonnom produced more than just a few novelty pieces. It should also be noted that the coin lists Muḥammad as heir. Coins of al-Qāsim from Córdoba for these early years are very rare but those we have do not name Muḥammad. He is only known to appear on coins after al-Qāsim's return in 1023. From 1018–1021, however, his nephew Yaḥyā was striking coins in Málaga and Ceuta in al-Qāsim's name but listing himself as heir. The Bonnom piece suggests that al-Qāsim repudiated his nephew's claim earlier than 1023. Cf. Wasserstein, *Caliphate*, 73–79.

<sup>25</sup> Lavoix, *Catalogue*, 522 no. 1125; cf. Miles, "Bonom," 687–88. The execution of this coin is noticeably less skillful than the other two. The marginal legends contain only pseudo-Arabic calligraphy. While the central inscriptions are somewhat more legible, even the Latin rendering of **BONNOM** is botched with the first and last letters reversed. It should be considered that it may be the work of another goldsmith capitalizing on Bonnom's reputation. For simplicity, I refer to it throughout as a Bonnom piece.

vague recognition of the last caliph to rule in Córdoba, Hishām III (c.1027–31).<sup>26</sup>

Surprisingly, the three Bonnom coins that have come down to us are each distinct from the other and appear to represent different stages of the artisan's work from roughly 1018 to 1031. Bonnom's motivation for producing these coins remains somewhat perplexing. They are not noticeably better in weight or fineness than the *mancus amuris* and *iafaris*. The simplest explanation is that they were struck because the demand for good gold coinage in Barcelona had, at least temporarily, outstripped the supply. By 1018, the *mancus amuris* and *iafaris* were old and the documents are silent as to whether newer dinars like those of the Ḥammūdids were reaching Catalonia. Bonnom must have been prompted to melt worn coins or other gold bullion to produce freshly minted dinars. While he may have altered his pieces to keep abreast of current Islamic issues, these changes have to be dismissed as cosmetic. The coins were mainly intended for the domestic market since their Latin signatures could only serve to make them suspect in trade with Islam.<sup>27</sup>

With the downfall of the Ḥammūdids c.1026, the splintering of al-Andalus into taifa states proceeded rapidly and with it came a proliferation in minting. Bonnom's use of a Tujibid coin from Zaragoza as a prototype serves as evidence that Córdoba was quickly losing its preeminence as the main mint of al-Andalus. Taifa coins can be detected in Barcelona by 1029 when documents distinguish between "*mancusos veteres de Spania*" and "*auro novo.*" In the 1030s, with the caliphate abolished, the more common taifa coins reaching

<sup>26</sup> The reverse of the Bonnom coin refers to "*al-Imām 'Abd Allāh al-Mu'ayyad*" which appears on the Tujibid coins as well as later issues from other taifa mints. Al-Mu'ayyad was the throne name of Hishām II not Hishām III. Wasserstein argues that this was a deliberate ambiguity in light of Hishām III's tenuous ability to rule. Nevertheless, the phrase is clearly a reference to the caliphs of Córdoba. To this extent, "*'Abd Allāh*" should be read simply as "servant of God." It is not a reference to the 'Abbāsid caliph in the east. Wasserstein, *Caliphate*, 102–19; Wasserstein, *Party-Kings*, 77–81.

<sup>27</sup> There are other imitations in Lavoix's catalogue that may be closely contemporary to the Bonnom coins. Two of these are copies of dinars of Hishām II with a cross imposed on one field and so are clearly Christian in origin. Lavoix, however, published two other dinars of Hishām II that he judged to be forgeries based on their poor execution. They carried no Latin markings. His catalogue also contains a counterfeit dinar of 'Alī ibn Ḥammūd (1016–18), al-Qāsim's brother and predecessor, and several unreadable specimens. We can only speculate whether these are Catalan in origin. Lavoix, *Catalogue*, 514–17 nos. 1107–14, 520–21 nos. 1122–23; cf. Crusafont, *Numismática*, 65, 194 nos. 91–92.

Barcelona were named according to their provenance; *mancusos denescos* from Denia, *mancusos saragencianos* from Zaragoza and *mancusos ceptis* from the North African port of Ceuta (called Sabtah in Arabic).<sup>28</sup> The last of these would prove the most important to the Catalan economy.

Al-Qāsim's rebellious nephew Yaḥyā had returned to Ceuta, the base of Ḥammūdīd power, in 1026 after his brief reign as caliph. He also retained Málaga and Algeciras, giving him control of what had long been the most important ports linking Spain to North Africa. The dinars he struck in Ceuta (see coin two) until his death in 1035, therefore, were most likely common on both sides of the strait. They are undoubtedly the "*mancusos ceptis*" to which the Catalan documents refer. A hoard found in Igualada, slightly west of Barcelona, contained an authentic dinar of Yaḥyā alongside roughly a dozen imitations of the same coin.<sup>29</sup> Similar imitations of Yaḥyā's dinar have surfaced repeatedly in Catalan finds. In total, there are approximately thirty-three examples catalogued today. Unlike Bonnom's coins, these pieces carry no overt sign that they were minted outside Islam. They are generally only betrayed by their crude style and also by a deficiency in weight (see coin three).<sup>30</sup>

Starting in 1037, only two years after Yaḥyā's death, Catalan documents refer to *mancusos* "de manu Heneas," or made by Eneas. There are no known coins that bear this minter's name but in the first year that his name appears in the sources, at least one document associates his work with the *mancus* of Ceuta. It speaks of a

<sup>28</sup> In addition to *mancusos saragencianos*, the term *mancusos almanzorís* may refer to coins of Zaragoza issued by Mundhir II al Maṣṣūr (c.1029–c.1038). See Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 378; Wasserstein, *Party-Kings*, 94.

<sup>29</sup> F. Mateu y Llopis, "Dinares de Yaḥyā al-Mu'talī de Ceuta y *mancusos barcelonenses* hallados en Ódena (Igualada, Barcelona)," *Al-Andalus*, 11 (1946), 389–94; for Yaḥyā's career and coinage in general see Wasserstein, *Caliphate*, 59–60, 80–83; Codera, *Títulos*, 18; see also G.C. Miles, *Coins of the Spanish Mulūk al-Tawā'if* (New York, 1954), 19–20 nos. 69–71.

<sup>30</sup> The total number of catalogued Yaḥyā imitations varies slightly in the published reports. See Crusafont, "Els comtats catalans," 414–15; Crusafont, *Numismàtica*, 180 no. 51; cf. A.M. Balaguer, "Primeres conclusions de l'estudi de la moneda catalana comtal," *Symposium*, 2:311–13. It is not clear whether these totals incorporate two examples in the American Numismatic Society. More recently, Balaguer reported that the corpus now includes 43 specimens but gave no details. She added further that in the 1950s a hoard was discovered that reportedly contained 400 specimens of this type. Balaguer, "*Paras*," 518–19; For the distribution of these imitations in various finds see A.M. Balaguer, "Troballes i circulació monetària: Corpus de les troballes de moneda àrab a Catalunya (segles VIII–XIII)," *Acta Numismàtica*, 20 (1990), 91, 107–8.

sum of "good gold (of the kind) common to Ceuta made by Eneas."<sup>31</sup> Eneas must have been at least partly responsible for the imitation Yahyā mancuso that have come down to us today.

Yahyā's Ceuta dinars appear to have been struck at a standard of close to 4 grams, a normal weight for the time. Most of the counterfeits of his coin fall short of this.<sup>32</sup> Only five of the catalogued specimens weigh over 3 grams. Of these, the heaviest two at 3.46 and 3.42 grams are noticeably better in artistic quality than the rest and clearly belong apart. Bonnom, judging from his surviving coins, had minted close to full weight dinars. Eneas' first issues were also likely to be struck at a good weight and with a sharp attention to detail. These two heavy coins are prime candidates for his mancuso which appears in the documents shortly after Yahyā's death.<sup>33</sup> The lighter weight imitations can be shown to belong to a later period.

Aside from Bonnom and Eneas, no other craftsman in Barcelona is associated in the sources with a mancuso. Rather, in the 1040s, documents refer more generally to "mancusos of Barcelona" or "gold of Barcelona," implying perhaps that the coins were becoming more commonplace. By 1056, these mancusos were said to weigh ten to

<sup>31</sup> Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 381: "Uncia I de auro cocto cepti dispensabilis de manu Henes." Botet y Sisó, *Les monedes*, 39, 86, implied he found other documents that made this association, but he gives specific reference only to this charter. The document remains unpublished and it is difficult to ascertain the meaning of this phrase. Bonnassie concluded that it referred to gold bullion that had arrived from Ceuta and was subsequently "dispensed" or struck by Eneas. This seems to be the sole basis for Spufford's conclusion in *Money*, 167, that "the mint of Barcelona was being supplied with African gold in the form of ingots shipped from Ceuta." *Dispensare*, however, is also to spend and the adjective *dispensabilis* takes the meaning "commonly used" (J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* [Leiden, 1984], 340). Botet y Sisó, *Les monedes*, 33 noted the similar phrase "mancusos d'or cuyt, de Spania, amoris aut ceptis dispensabiles" in documents of 1032 and 1033. This seems best translated as "mancusos of good gold, from Spain, of the *amoris* type or the type common in Ceuta." A better interpretation of the first citation, therefore, is that it refers to a sum of Ceuta-style coins made by Eneas which totaled an ounce. While Barcelona was familiar with Ceuta coin, there is no evidence that gold bullion was being shipped to its mint from North Africa.

<sup>32</sup> There are nine Ceuta dinars of Yahyā in the American Numismatic Society's collection, including three previously published by Miles, *al-Tawā'if*, 19–20 nos. 69–71. Their weights are 3.87, 3.94, 3.98, 4.07, 4.08, 4.09, 4.28, 4.53 and 4.61 grams. The examples reported in Lavoix, *Catalogue*, 114–17, nos. 367, 369, 370, weighed 4.30, 2.30 and 3.83 grams. For the weights of the counterfeits, see Crusafont, "Els comtats catalans," 414–15; cf. Crusafont, *Numismática*, 180 no. 51.

<sup>33</sup> The weights of the Bonnom coins are 3.92, 3.55 and 3.79 grams (Miles, "Bonom," 684–86). Balaguer, "Primeres conclusions," 313, preferred to attribute the two heavy Yahyā counterfeits to Bonnom. Crusafont, *Numismática*, 179 nos. 48–49, followed this same attribution.

the ounce.<sup>34</sup> Now gold was weighed in Barcelona according to the Roman ounce of approximately 27.24 grams. A full-sized dinar of slightly less than 4 grams was therefore normally reckoned at seven to an ounce.<sup>35</sup> At ten to the ounce, the mancus of Barcelona had by mid-century dropped to an individual weight of approximately 2.72 grams. Twenty-eight of the catalogued Yahyā imitations have weights less than three grams and clearly correspond to this later stage. Their average weight is 2.70 grams.

Eneas, then, initiated a type that two decades later was still being produced either by himself or subsequent minters at a reduced weight.<sup>36</sup> Before him, Bonnom had signed his coins and in at least one instance identified the mint as Barcelona. If Bonnom's early coins circulated only on the domestic market, the Ceuta imitation begun by Eneas was designed to do more. With no Christian identification, it was a legitimate counterfeit, capable of circulating in the Islamic world.

The taifas that sprung up along Spain's eastern seaboard in the wake of the caliphate's collapse were often little more than city-states that relied on maritime trade to survive. Whereas shipping under the caliphate had been restricted to a few main ports, now commercial routes proliferated as these taifas competed with one another. Eneas' choice of prototypes was most likely linked to the demands of this burgeoning trade. With virtually each port using its own coinage, and other money arriving from the larger, inland kingdoms, some dinars were sure to be more widely respected than others.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> "Quinque uncias auri monete Barchinone . . . ut decem mancusos sint in unaquaque uncia." F.M. Rosell, ed., *Liber feudorum maior: Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1945), 1:396–97 no. 378, 449–50 no. 430, 203–4 no. 192. See also Lacarra, "Aspectos," 65 n. 77; Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 381–82; Botet, *Les monedes*, 40–41.

<sup>35</sup> The *usatge* known as "Solidus aureus" demonstrates that gold was weighed according to the Roman pound. See F. Valls Taberner, *Los usatges de Barcelona: Estudios, comentarios y edición bilingüe del texto* (Málaga, 1984), 114. Beltrán's explanation of this text, "Interpretación," 1–26, is flawed and has hampered a number of subsequent works. I hope to prepare a full re-examination of it. J. Bastardas and M. Mayer, "La moneda en els usatges," *Symposium*, 2:210–13, is a reliable overview.

<sup>36</sup> Balaguer, "Influence," 317, assumes that the Barcelona mancus of ten to the ounce was still the work of Eneas. This to my knowledge is not supported by the documents which never directly associate Eneas with the light weight mancus. The testament of the cleric Pons of Gerona in fact seems to distinguish between the two. See Rius, "Cartes," 359–62 no. 7; cf. O. Gil Farrés, *Historia de la moneda española*, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1976), 220–21.

<sup>37</sup> O.R. Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge, 1994), 32, and cf. 16–23; Wasserstein, *Party-Kings*, 108. A good example of the variety of gold apt



Yaḥyā had controlled the important triangle formed by the ports of Ceuta, Málaga and Algeciras and his coinage was certainly well known. By immobilizing Yaḥyā's dinar, Eneas was preserving a coin whose reputation was already established. The continued use of this type over the next two decades further established its familiarity and provided Barcelona with a standard coin to use in trade with neighboring Muslim ports.

If gold flowed back to al-Andalus through trade, this did not compensate for the sums Catalan magnates now began to extort from the taifa rulers. It is impossible to pinpoint when *paria* payments began but charters of Count Ramon Berenguer I (1035–76) and Count Ermengol III of Urgel (1038–65) show that by 1048 both lords expected tribute from Zaragoza and by 1056 Ramon Berenguer was also collecting from the taifa of Lleida.<sup>38</sup> In the meantime, however, the taifa lords could not maintain the sphere of influence in the Maghrib that the Umayyads had achieved. The Ghana gold trade which before had flowed primarily through Sijilmāsa and on to Córdoba was now diverted along several routes, the most prominent running to the Zirid capital of Qayrawān, near Tunis.<sup>39</sup> With shrinking gold resources, the taifas now most likely began to debase their gold issues to meet the growing demand for tribute.<sup>40</sup> The subsequent drop in the weight of the Barcelonan mancus was a consequence

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to be found in circulation is the hoard described in Miles, *al-Tawā'if*, ix–x. It is of unknown provenance, but datable to c.1053. Among the identifiable coins were fractional dinars from the taifas of Valencia, Almería, Zaragoza, and Toledo as well as 54 Fatimid pieces, possibly from Sicily.

<sup>38</sup> J. Bishko, "Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London, 1980), 43; Lacarra, "Aspectos," 49–52.

<sup>39</sup> C. Vanacker, "Géographie économique de l'Afrique du Nord selon les auteurs arabes, du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle au milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 28 (1973), 660–61, 667; Spufford, *Money*, 164–65; E.W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1968), 59. As evidence of Sijilmāsa's decline, see the poor quality dinars published in J.D. Brèthes, *Contribution à l'histoire du Maroc par les recherches numismatiques* (Casablanca, 1939), 103–4. For Zirid minting, see H.W. Hazard, *The Numismatic History of Late Medieval North Africa* (New York, 1952), 54–55, 89–91.

<sup>40</sup> There is as yet no overall study of the fineness of the taifa gold issues. We do know that by the 1070s, many of the kingdoms were issuing fractional dinars that had dropped to about eight carats, i.e., thirty-three percent fine (see the discussion of "Valencian gold" below). It is reasonable to assume that this debasement had started gradually some years earlier. The calculations of Ramon Berenguer's expenditures in Lacarra, "Aspectos," 64, remain a helpful gauge as to how much wealth the Catalan count was extracting from the taifas. These assume, however, that ten mancuses always equal an ounce of gold, a rate only accurate for one stage of the mancus.

of this same contraction. *Paria* gold coming to Barcelona must have been melted and refined to produce a lighter but still relatively pure coin. The older, heavier imitations of Bonnom and Eneas were probably also drawn to the melting pot, leaving the lighter weight *mancus* to survive in greater numbers today.

Beginning c.1067, close to the end of Ramon Berenguer's reign, documents refer to a still lighter *mancus* of Barcelona. It was often described as weighing only one-fourteenth of an ounce, that is 1.94 grams.<sup>41</sup> Coin four in the plates is without doubt an example of this new *mancus*. It weighs 1.91 grams and all other reported specimens fall between 1.90 and 1.95 grams.<sup>42</sup> The new coin was still closely modeled after Yahyā's original *dinar*, but the reverse margin now bore the Latin legend *RAIMVNDVS COMES* in retrograde letters.

The appearance of Ramon's name on the *mancus* coincides with his effort to establish stricter control over the gold coinage. The early *mancusos*, associated as they were with the individual artisans Bonnom and Eneas, may have been private initiatives, tolerated or ignored by the state. As Eneas' Ceuta imitation became more successful, however, the count was inevitably drawn to take a more active interest in the enterprise. A charter drawn up sometime after 1069, records the oath of two minters, Gerald and Stephen, who swore that neither they nor any man in their charge would "make another gold coin in the mint of lord Ramon, Count of Barcelona, except that which he shall order done there."<sup>43</sup> Ramon was obviously trying to prevent continued private minting. Ideally, all bullion would come to his mint, where it could be exchanged for coin bearing his signature after a seigniorage was deducted.

If Ramon Berenguer's attempt at monopoly was successful, it was also short lived. References to *mancusos* of Barcelona become scarce after his death in 1076. The native pieces were succeeded by what

<sup>41</sup> The standard formula was to equate the new *mancus* to the weight of an *argento*, as in "mancusos . . . auri puri et cocti monete Barchinone a penso legitime pensatos unumquemque ex istis mancussis . . . unum argenti" (Botet, *Les monedes*, 41-43). The *argento*, in this context, was a unit of weight corresponding to one-fourteenth of the Roman ounce, as is evident in the usage "Solidus aureus." See Valls Taberner, *Los usatges*, 114; Crusafont, *Numismática*, 52.

<sup>42</sup> Crusafont, "Els comtats catalans," 415-16; Crusafont, *Numismática*, 180 no. 52.

<sup>43</sup> Botet, *Les monedes*, 202 no. 7: "Juro ego Gerallus et Stefanus, quod nec ego nec ullus homo, me sciente, non fecerit aliud aurum in ista moneta de domno Raimundo Barchinonensi comite, nisi qualem ipse mandaverit ibi facere." The charter is not dated but is witnessed by Bishop Umberto (1069-85). It might then belong to the brief reign of Ramon Berenguer II (1076-82); see Crusafont, *Numismática*, 52.

Catalan documents refer to as "Valencian gold." These were debased quarter-dinars, about thirty-three percent fine, which Valencia, Denia and other taifa mints were issuing in place of full dinars.<sup>44</sup> Ramon Berenguer had also minted silver denarii as early as 1056 and this denomination would now come to play a more prominent role.<sup>45</sup> Still, gold remained the standard of value. Prices were mainly quoted in mancuso of Valencian gold with the proviso that they could be paid in silver or in kind.<sup>46</sup>

For nearly sixty years, Barcelona was able to maintain a gold coinage in the wake of the caliphate's collapse. It did so without competition from the western Iberian Christian kingdoms, for during much of this time these regions attracted very little gold. In the town of León, for example, charters continue to quote prices in *solidi argenti*. Although it was still common to render payment in kind, there are increased references in these documents to transactions made in real silver.<sup>47</sup> This perhaps reflects a growing influx of foreign denarii brought to the town by more frequent traffic along the route to Santiago.<sup>48</sup> The gold dinar, however, is wholly absent here and in

<sup>44</sup> A hoard of these fractional pieces was recently published by A. Bofarull i Comenge, "Tresoret de fraccions de dinar dels regnes de taifes (segle XI)," *Acta Numismàtica*, 20 (1990), 111–22; cf. the hoard cited in n. 37 above. For their fineness, see J. Todesca, "Money of Account and Circulating Coins in Castile-León c.1085–1300," *Problems III*, 275.

<sup>45</sup> Three mint contracts survive that show Ramon Berenguer ordered denarii struck between 1056 and 1066. Botet, *Les monedes*, 200–202 nos. 4–6. Surviving denarii that can be assigned to eleventh-century Barcelona are very rare and the chronology is far less established than current catalogues indicate. Documentary references imply that there was native silver coinage as early as the reign of Ramon Borell (992–1018). See Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 387; Crusafont, *Numismàtica*, 48–50, 53–56; cf. Beltrán, "Interpretación," 24–25.

<sup>46</sup> See the citations compiled by J. Alturo i Perucho, "Notes numismàtiques dels diplomataris de Santa Anna de Barcelona (Fons de Santa Anna i de Santa Eulàlia del Camq) del 942 al 1200," *Acta Numismàtica*, 11 (1981), 121–24.

<sup>47</sup> The regular appearance of the phrase "*solidos de argento pondere pensato*" points to payments in silver. See J.M. Ruiz Ascencio, ed., *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León (775–1230)*, vols. 3–4 (León, 1987–89), beginning with 3:234–35 no. 688, *passim*; cf. Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva," 313.

<sup>48</sup> As evidence of pilgrim traffic carrying foreign denarii to Spain, see the six Anglo-Saxon coins of Ethelred II (978–1016) in F. Mateu y Llopis, "El hallazgo de 'pennies' ingleses en Roncesvalles," *Príncipe de Viana*, 12 (1950), 201–10. The question of when native denarii began in the western kingdoms is even more problematic than for Barcelona. Minting may have started as early as the reign of Sancho el Mayor (1004–35), who briefly united León, Navarre and Aragon, but there is no reliable documentary evidence and it is impossible to prove on numismatic grounds alone. For an overview of pertinent arguments see P. Beltrán Villagrasa, "Dinero de vellón de Fernando I el Magno en la colección 'Los Arcos,'" *Caesaraugusta: Publicaciones*

charters throughout the western kingdoms except for occasional mention in penalty clauses.<sup>49</sup>

The lack of gold in the west before mid-century is in part attributable to political circumstances. Internecine struggles had preoccupied the rulers of León, Castile, Navarre and Aragon in these decades and they were therefore slower than their Catalan contemporaries to establish taifa clients. In the 1060s, however, Fernando I of León-Castile (1035–65) emerged as the strongest of the western princes and began a series of successful campaigns against the taifas. According to later chronicles, Fernando at the time of his death was due annual tribute from Toledo, Seville, Zaragoza and Badajoz, yet how consistently he or his son Alfonso VI (1065–1109) procured these payments cannot be determined.<sup>50</sup> Alfonso did add tribute from Granada. The ruler of that kingdom, ‘Abd Allāh (1073–90), provides in his memoirs one of the few explicit indications of the amounts involved in these *parias*. He was forced to pay Alfonso 30,000 dinars to conclude peace c.1075 and promised 10,000 more per annum.<sup>51</sup>

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*del seminario de arqueología y numismática aragonesa*, 3 (1952), 97–113, and the rejoinder by O. Gil Farrés, “Consideraciones acerca de las primitivas cecas navarras y aragonesas,” *Numario Hispánico*, 4 (1955), 5–36. Indisputable documentary evidence for the striking of denarii in these regions does not emerge until the last quarter of the century. See the discussion below.

<sup>49</sup> For a survey of the documents in the kingdom of León-Castile as a whole, see Gautier-Dalché, “L’histoire,” 68–95 and Departamento de Historia . . . de Oviedo, “Circulación,” 242–48. For Aragon-Navarre, see further, A.J. Martín Duque “Documentos para el estudio de la numismática navarro-aragonesa medieval (5ª serie),” *Caesaraugusta: Publicaciones del seminario de arqueología y numismática aragonesa*, 11–12 (1958), 95–99 nos. 57–64.

<sup>50</sup> The anonymous *Historia Silense*, composed during the reign of Alfonso VI, reports that Toledo and Seville paid Fernando I tribute as a result of his campaigns in the 1060s. See *Historia Silense*, ed. J. Pérez de Urbel and A. González Ruiz-Zorrilla, (Madrid, 1959), 194–98. The brief *Chronicon Compostellanum*, apparently composed in the early years of Alfonso VII (1126–57), adds Badajoz and Zaragoza to the list of Fernando’s clients and claims that all four taifas rendered tribute annually. See “Chronicon Compostellanum,” in E. Florez, ed., *España sagrada*, vol. 20 (Madrid, 1765), 609. See also, B.F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109* (Princeton, 1988), xv, 7–13.

<sup>51</sup> ‘Abd Allāh, *The Tibyān: Memoirs of ‘Abd Allāh B. Buluggīn, Last Zīrid Amīr of Granada*, trans. A.T. Tibi (Leiden, 1986), 91–92. Bishko’s estimate that Fernando could expect “some 30,000 or more dinars a year” is little more than a guess. It is apparently based on the 10,000 dinars per annum figure of ‘Abd Allāh and the 12,000 per annum later promised to Sancho of Navarre (see discussion below). Bishko concluded that if Fernando received at least three of the four *parias* assigned to him in the chronicles, at 10,000 each, he would receive 30,000 annually. See “Fernando I,” 42–53; MacKay, *Spain*, 25, raised the amount to 40,000; cf. the more cautious treatment by H. Grassotti, “Para la historia del botín y de las *parias* en León y

A measure of León's new wealth can also be seen in Fernando's generous pledge of 1,000 dinars annually to Cluny, a sum later doubled by Alfonso.<sup>52</sup> Yet, despite the collection of these *parias*, we still find little evidence of gold circulating within León-Castile itself. No document of Fernando survives which shows him using dinars in domestic gifts or purchases and the same seems to be true for Alfonso's reign.<sup>53</sup> To an extent, we can attribute this to the scant preservation of Leonese royal documents. The *Historia Silense* in fact claims that Fernando generously endowed the churches and monasteries of his kingdom with Muslim booty and presumably the lay aristocracy also shared in this wealth.<sup>54</sup> Yet, there is no lack of private charters recording monastic and aristocratic land acquisitions in this period and these, like the royal documents, reveal almost no sign of dinars in circulation. Only later in Alfonso VI's reign does gold begin to surface sporadically, usually in wills or religious bequests that list "aurum" among the donor's wealth but do not specify whether it is in coin. On occasion, however, these do refer to *mencals*, a term for the dinar which derived from the Arabic *mithqāl*.<sup>55</sup>

If the kings of León-Castile were the recipients of so much tribute,

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Castilla," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, 39-40 (1964), 51-55. Most recently, Balaguer in "Parias," 514-24, 531-33, attempted to quantify the total amount flowing to all the Christian princes, but admitted the results were tenuous.

<sup>52</sup> Alfonso doubled the Cluny *census* in 1077, shortly after his agreement with Granada. While payment lapsed temporarily, he was able to send 10,000 dinars in arrears c. 1088. Bishko, "Fernando I," 27-39, 46-48.

<sup>53</sup> Fernando's documents are collected in P. Blanco Lozano, *Colección Diplomática de Fernando I (1037-65)* (León, 1987). The documents of Alfonso VI have not been similarly edited, but to my knowledge there is no act of his involving gold coin other than his payments to Cluny.

<sup>54</sup> *Silense*, 205-6, cf. 190.

<sup>55</sup> Two exceptional documents that mention *mencals* are the wills of Count Gonzalo Salvadórez and Count Pedro Ansúrez. Salvadórez' bequest to the monastery of Oña in 1082 survives only in a copy, probably of the twelfth century, which speaks of 1600 morabetinos. The morabetino or the Almoravid dinar, however, would not have been common in Iberia in 1082. R. Menéndez Pidal, in *La España del Cid*, 4th ed. (Madrid, 1947), 2:739, was surely correct in suggesting that the original will had employed "mtis" as an abbreviation for *metcalis*. Cf. J. del Alamo, *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña (822-1284)*, (Madrid, 1950), 1:113-14 no. 77. A few years later, Pedro Ansúrez left 300 "metkales de auro" to the church of León, see below, n. 62. See further the transfer of land dated 1076 that included "ad confirmanda kartula ista xxx<sup>4</sup> emetkales de oro"; M. Herrero de la Fuente, ed., *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857-1230)*, vol. 3 (León, 1988), 21-22 no. 745. In the same collection see also the bequest of 1103 which included "una mula comparet de D metkales," 452-53 no. 1099. For bequests simply listing "aurum," cf. 20-21 no. 744, 75-76 no. 785, 85-86 no. 794, 389-93 no. 1049, 203-4 no. 888, 443-45 no. 1093.

why was gold so scarcely used in the domestic economy?<sup>56</sup> Two treaties between Sancho IV of Navarre (1054–76) and al-Muqtadir of Zaragoza (c.1049–c.1083) help shed light on this paradox. Besides ‘Abd Allāh’s testimony, they are the only direct record we have of a *paria* accord between a Christian lord and his Muslim client in this era. In the first, dated 1069, al-Muqtadir agreed to pay Sancho 12,000 dinars per annum, a sum comparable to what ‘Abd Allāh paid Alfonso. The alliance, however, soon broke down and had to be renewed by a second document of 1073. The same annual tribute in dinars was agreed upon, but here Sancho added a protective measure. He reserved the right to refuse the gold offered him if the quality did not please him and demand payment in silver at a specified rate per dinar.<sup>57</sup>

Sancho’s suspicion regarding payment in gold was not unfounded. We have speculated that by mid-century the taifas were already beginning to debase their coinage to compensate for the steady loss of gold to Catalonia. The added demands of the western kingdoms for tribute in the second half of the century now rapidly depleted al-Andalus’ gold resources. The failure of the Barcelona *mancus* is a clear indication of this crisis. With the increased competition, the town could no longer procure enough good gold to make minting profitable. Like the “Valencian” pieces that replaced the Barcelonan *mancus*, many of the *taifa* issues were now undisguisedly debased and growing scarce.<sup>58</sup> ‘Abd Allāh had been so worried about depleting his gold stock that he attempted to pay Alfonso VI partially in

<sup>56</sup> The discrepancy has engendered only vague explanations. Lacarra advanced the idea that the gold stayed mainly in the hands of the aristocracy who used it for expenses in war and to purchase luxury items from Andalusia (Lacarra, “Aspectos,” 74–75). But war investment and trade with al-Andalus both imply that the coins should have trickled into local circulation. Despite this, R. Pastor de Togneri in “Ganadería y precios: consideraciones sobre la economía de León y Castilla (siglos xi–xiii),” *Cuadernos de historia de España*, 35–36 (1962), 53–55, adopted a similar conclusion; cf. T.F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1979), 127–28. More recently, Fletcher in *El Cid*, 70–71, simply assumed that gold freely circulated despite its absence in the documentation.

<sup>57</sup> “Convenit Almuctadir . . . per singulos annos dare regi domino Sancio duodecim milia mancuso auri obtimi, ita ut si regi placuerit accipere aurum accipiat, si enim plus sibi placuerit accipere argentum pro unoquoque mancuso auri accipiat rex vii solidos argenti de moneta de Cesaraugusta.” Both texts are published by J.M. Lacarra, “Dos tratados de paz y alianza entre Sancho el de Peñalen y Muctadir de Zaragoza (1069 y 1073),” in *Colonización, parias, repoblación y otros estudios*, 92–94.

<sup>58</sup> According to Dozy, there are two accounts in Arabic sources of al-Mu’tamid of Seville making payment to the Christians in dinars of poor alloy. In the first, the king was said to pay Ramon Berenguer II 30,000 debased dinars as ransom for his

"mattresses, garments and vessels."<sup>59</sup> By stipulating in advance that he required silver if suitable gold was not found, Sancho of Navarre was perhaps depriving al-Muqtadir of the opportunity to offer similar tribute.

The most important aspect of Sancho's second treaty is that the tribute was still conceived of as 12,000 dinars even though it may be paid in silver, presumably in the form of dirhams. Here lies the source of confusion in evaluating the *parias* at this late date. The dinar was serving as a unit of account for silver. When 'Abd Allāh speaks of the sums of *mencals* or dinars that he paid Alfonso of León, he does not necessarily mean that they were always rendered in gold. The dinar *darāhim* or dinar of dirhams had long been an accepted unit of account in al-Andalus. In speaking of a large payment of arrears he was forced to pay Alfonso c.1089, the Granadan king explains that he dared not ask his subjects for help, so he sent the thirty thousand dinars "without causing anyone to lose a single dirham."<sup>60</sup> The reality then behind the tribute payments of the second half of the century is that they were at best paid in very debased gold. More frequently, they were probably made up of a mixture of poor dinars, silver dirhams and at times other goods. Therefore, while the kings of León-Castile, and to a lesser extent Aragon and Navarre, prospered in the late eleventh century, their real intake in gold was not as large as is often assumed. They had in fact missed the gold boom that the Catalan counties earlier enjoyed.

What gold the western princes did receive was probably used sparingly. Based on documentary evidence, it is apparent that Sancho Ramírez of Aragon-Navarre (1063-94) minted his own gold pieces in Jaca. These seemed to have been for the expressed purpose of

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son c.1078. In the second, a court poet reported that Castilian envoys dared to complain about the poor alloy of the dinars offered them c. 1082. R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne jusqu'à la conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides (711-1110)*, (1861; 2d ed. revised by É. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden, 1932), 3:bk. 4, 107, 119; Lacarra, "Aspectos," 55; Balaguer, "*Parias*," 521; Grassotti, "Botín," 57-58; cf. Reilly, *Alfonso*, 163-4.

<sup>59</sup> 'Abd Allāh, *The Tibyān*, 91; For other examples of *parias* paid in-kind, see Balaguer, "*Parias*," 524, and Constable, *Trade*, 49.

<sup>60</sup> 'Abd Allāh refers directly to dinars of dirhams in discussing the revenues of Guadix. Later, he employs the concept again in discussing the siege of the same town. He reports the effort cost six treasure chests of dirhams, each chest being the equivalent of 1,000,000 dinars. 'Abd Allāh, *The Tibyān*, 61, 76-77, 132; for the dinar of silver in general see P. Chalmeta, "El dirham arba'īnī, duḥl, qurṭubī, andalusī: su valor," *Acta Numismática*, 16 (1986), 118-19.

paying an annual tribute of 500 mancuses to Rome.<sup>61</sup> There is no concrete evidence that Alfonso of León similarly issued his own dinars, but the *census* to Cluny, when it was paid, seems to have been rendered in gold.<sup>62</sup> It was not only more convenient for international payments but added to the prestige of the Spanish kingdoms as they formed closer ties with Christian Europe. Gold coin may also have made up the generous gift Pope Gregory VII acknowledged receiving from Alfonso around 1081.<sup>63</sup>

The shortage of gold, however, forced these sovereigns to rely mainly on silver-alloyed coinage for their domestic markets. When Alfonso annexed the kingdom of Toledo in 1085, he apparently allowed the local mint to continue striking dirhams as indicated by coin number five in the plates. Though barely legible, this dirham seems to bear a Hijrah date of 479, corresponding to A.D. 1086–87.<sup>64</sup> But this was an experiment of no lasting importance. The mint at Toledo was soon switched over to produce Latin denarii such as coin six. By the end of his reign, Alfonso also issued denarii in León and Santiago and possibly other towns. In Aragon-Navarre, Sancho Ramírez struck denarii in Jaca and probably Monzón.<sup>65</sup>

Silver for these issues was in part supplied by *parias* paid in dirhams. At the same time, the gold that did filter down from the royal coffers to the aristocracy may have had the effect of drawing old, domestic stocks of silver to the mints. In other words, gold was hoarded while

<sup>61</sup> Balaguer, "Influence," 323–24.

<sup>62</sup> For Cluny, see Bishko, "Fernando I," 36–37. The will of Count Pedro Ansúrez survives in the *Tumbo* of the Cathedral of León, which was redacted c.1124. This cartulary copy lists among the count's donations 300 "metkales de auro obetensis monete." This sole reference has led to speculation that Alfonso VI may have minted dinars at Oviedo. See J.A. Serrano Redonnet, "Ovetensis Monete," *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 1–2 (1944), 156–89; A.M. Balaguer, "La moneda de Oviedo: Oro o vellon?" in *Primera reunion hispano-portuguesa* (Aviles, 1983), 61–66. While it is not preposterous that Alfonso struck gold, it seems best to ascribe this oddity to scribal error. The original was perhaps "metkales de auro *obitimo* monete." Indeed, for confirming the testament, king Alfonso received a "vas aureum obitimum." Ruiz Ascencio, *Colección documental . . . de León*, 4:557–59 no. 1262.

<sup>63</sup> J.F. O'Callaghan, "The Integration of Christian Spain into Europe: The Role of Alfonso VI of León-Castile," in *Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, ed. B.F. Reilly (New York, 1985), 112.

<sup>64</sup> For other examples of these dirhams, see A. Prieto y Vives, *Los reyes de taifas: Estudio histórico-numismático de los musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la hegira (XI de J.C.)* (Madrid, 1926) 145, 241; cf. Lacarra, "Aspectos," 70–71.

<sup>65</sup> For a review of the problems surrounding Alfonso's coinage, see D.M. Metcalf, "A Parcel of Coins of Alfonso VI of León (1073–1109)," in *Problems III*, 271–86. For the coinage of Sancho Ramírez, see Gil Farrés, "Consideraciones," 5–36.



silver was spent. Finally, we cannot exclude the possibility that gold was used to procure silver from abroad. If the gold dinar was not as visible in the day to day economies of the western kingdoms as it was in Catalonia, it nonetheless helped fuel the growth of these states and furthered their integration with the rest of Europe. The flow of *parias*, however, came to an abrupt halt with the close of the century.

The Almoravids, a militant, orthodox sect, consolidated the Maghrib between 1062 and 1079. Restoring stability to the region, they re-established control of the trans-Sahara gold routes. This allowed them to mint dinars of outstanding quality that were heavier than those of the old caliphate.<sup>66</sup> In the 1090s, the Almoravids crossed to Spain and began the task of conquering the *taifas*. By 1110, they occupied all of al-Andalus and severed the flow of tribute to the Christian princes for several decades. Their reformed dinar, called the *mora-betino* by the Christians, does not appear with any regularity in the Latin sources until the 1140s.<sup>67</sup> By this time, Almoravid power was faltering. Another reformist sect, the *Almo-hads*, challenged them in North Africa and a new generation of *taifa* lords rebelled against their rule in al-Andalus.

The most successful of the new *taifa* lords in al-Andalus was Ibn Mardanish, whose kingdom in the east centered around Murcia. He assumed power in the inauspicious year of 1147. The Almohads had by then successfully defeated the Almoravids in North Africa and made their initial forays into Spain the year before. In the meantime, the Christians, sensing the vulnerability of al-Andalus, pressed their advantage on all sides. The towns of Lisbon, Almeria and Tortosa fell to Latin armies between 1147 and 1148. Caught between the Almohad advance in the south and the Christian threat to his north,

<sup>66</sup> H.E. Kassis, "Observations on the First Three Decades of the Almoravid Dynasty (A.H. 450–480=A.D. 1058–1088): A Numismatic Study," *Der Islam*, 62 (1985), 311–25; R.A. Messier, "The Almoravids, West African Gold and the Gold Currency of the Mediterranean Basin," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 17 (1974), 31–47.

<sup>67</sup> The Almoravid dinar appears as early as 1113 in the mozarabic documents of Toledo, but this is exceptional. See A. González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1926), 7 no. 9; cf. J. Gautier-Dalché, "Le rôle de la reconquête de Tolède dans l'histoire monétaire de la Castille (1085–1174)," in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo: Actas del II congreso internacional de estudios mozárabes* (Toledo, 1987), 2:18–19. For later citations see, M.I. Ubieto Artur, "Los morabedís ayadinos, circulación y cambio en el reino de Aragón según la documentación coetánea," *Numisma*, 34 (1984), 215–25; Departamento de Historia . . . de Oviedo, "Circulación," 250–56.

Ibn Mardanish managed to remain independent by courting a Christian alliance. In 1149, he agreed to pay tribute to Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona (1131–62). He also swelled his ranks with Christian mercenaries and in 1157 aided the Christian forces attempting to save Almería from an Almohad siege.<sup>68</sup>

Through this alliance, his coinage quickly became well-known and favored among the Christians. This is illustrated by an agreement in 1153 between Genoa and Ramon Berenguer IV. In return for their aid in the siege of Tortosa, the Genoese had been awarded rights to one third of that town. Now, in 1153, they agreed to sell their share back to the count of Barcelona. The price set was 16,040 morabetinos, paid in a mixture of pieces from Morocco, Almería, Málaga, and Murcia. The assortment of coins, however, was to be “rendered at the weight of the *lupino*,” a clear reference to the dinar of Ibn Mardanish, who was known as *el Rey Lobo* among the Christians.<sup>69</sup> Since dinars from independent mints were apt to vary in weight, the purchase was to be completed by assembling enough gold coins until one reached the theoretical weight of 16,040 *lupinos*. Lobo’s morabetino was not chosen as a standard because it was the heaviest. Even in the early years of his reign, his dinars had an average weight close to 3.90 grams while dinars from contemporary rulers maintained the original Almoravid standard of over 4 grams.<sup>70</sup> The Genoese, then, must have used his coin as a standard because it was the dinar with which they were most familiar.

If Lobo’s coin was already well known this early, it would become more conspicuous in the Christian kingdoms in the next two decades. While his payments to Ramon Berenguer had been erratic, in the final years before his death in 1172, the Murcian prince appears to have paid tribute to both Ramon’s successor, Alfonso II of Aragon-

<sup>68</sup> A. Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón*, vol. 1: *La Formación Territorial* (Zaragoza, 1981), 238; H.E. Kassis, “The Coinage of Muhammad Ibn Sa’d (Ibn Mardanish) of Mursiya: An Attempt at Iberian Islamic Autonomy,” in *Problems III*, 211.

<sup>69</sup> Rosell, *Liber I*:485–87 no. 463: “terciam partem Tortose . . . pro precio, videlicet, xvi milium et xl morabetinorum, Marrochinorum, Marinorum, Aiadinorum, Lupinorum, Melechinorum, qui quotcumque ibi sint mixtim, ad pensum de Lupinis reddantur.” The morabetinos *aiadinorum* were the coins of Ibn Mardanish’s predecessor in eastern al-Andalus, Ibn ‘Iyād. See Ubieto Artur, “Los morabedís,” 210; cf. Kassis, “Ibn Sa’d,” 210–11; and see also F. Mateu y Llopis, “Morabetinos in auro y mazmudinas iucefias durante Alfonso el Casto, Pedro el Católico y Jaime de Aragón (1162–1276),” in *I Jarique de estudios numismáticos hispano-árabes* (Zaragoza, 1988), 182–83.

<sup>70</sup> Kassis, “Ibn Sa’d,” 218–19; Hazard, *Medieval North Africa*, 48, 61.

Catalonia (1162–96), and to Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158–1214). Like the taifa princes of the eleventh century, he debased his coinage to meet this demand. In the last two years of his life his dinars dropped to 2.5 grams. With his death, the Almohads were able to complete their consolidation of Andalusia and the gold flow to Christian Spain was once again cut off.<sup>71</sup>

By 1173, Alfonso VIII of Castile struck his own gold piece. Modeled on Lobo's dinar, this morabetino *alfonsino* took Christian imitations to a new height. One of the tenets of the Almohad sect which now controlled southern Spain was that their legitimacy would be justified by total conquest. Lobo's resistance, then, had had "serious theological implications." As a reminder to the Almohads that they held no monopoly over Islam, Lobo had invoked the 'Abbāsid caliph on his dinars (coin seven).<sup>72</sup> Alfonso VIII's coin (coin eight) now continued a similar taunting style. On the obverse, in the center field, a cross appears above a legend in Arabic which reads, "the *imām* of the Church of the Messiah is the Roman Pope." This is followed underneath by the Latin letters *ALF* for Alfonso. The marginal inscription on Lobo's dinar was normally the stock Almoravid quotation from the Koran which read, "who so seeks a religion other than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him and in the Hereafter, he shall be among the losers."<sup>73</sup> Alfonso now replaced this on his coin with "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, God is One. He who believes and has been baptized will be saved." On the reverse of Alfonso's coin, the central legend reads in Arabic, "the *amīr* of the Catholics, Alfonso son of Sancho, is supported by God and God protects him." The border inscription informs us that the dinar was minted in Toledo and on this example the year corresponds to A.D. 1185.

The morabetino *alfonsino*, however, was more than a vehicle for propaganda. Its quick appearance after Lobo's death points to a surprising sensitivity in the Spanish Christian economy. While Lobo's morabetinos were flowing north, the Almohads had introduced a much heavier gold piece to the western Islamic world which weighed

<sup>71</sup> Kassis, "Ibn Sa'd," 219.

<sup>72</sup> Kassis, "Ibn Sa'd," 210, 214–16; cf. Hazard, *Medieval North Africa*, 51. For the introduction of Alfonso's Morabetino see also J. Todesca, "The Monetary History of Castile-Leon (ca. 1100–1300) in Light of the Bourgey Hoard," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, 33 (1988), 136 n. 13.

<sup>73</sup> Kassis, "Ibn Sa'd," 212 n. 15.

approximately 4.55 grams.<sup>74</sup> But the morabetino had become the accepted standard of value in most of Christian Spain and its presence in hoards from southern France shows that it was beginning to circulate beyond the Pyrenees as well.<sup>75</sup> Alfonso VIII ignored the new Almohad coinage and chose to preserve the familiar morabetino. His coins roughly adhered to Lobo's original standard of 3.90 grams. Likewise, the separate kingdoms of León and Portugal also struck morabetinos at this weight but with Latin motifs (coins nine and ten).

When the supply of tribute gold dried up at the end of the previous century, the Christian states were unwilling or, more probably, unable to continue a native gold coinage. The Barcelona *mancus* had failed and the Latin economies made do with silver-based *denarii* until they could again procure gold from Andalusia. One hundred years later, faced with similar circumstances, three of the Iberian Christian kingdoms moved to maintain a gold currency at a familiar standard. The morabetinos struck by Castile, León and Portugal in the late twelfth century testify to the essential role that gold had come to play in the economies of Spain. Eighty years before the "return to gold" by the Italian maritime cities, Christian Spain had arrived at an integrated bi-metallic system, a synthesis of Islamic and Latin traditions.

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<sup>74</sup> This piece appears to have been a double dinar and would later be called the *dobla* by the Christians. See Hazard, *Medieval North Africa*, 48.

<sup>75</sup> J. Duplessy, "La circulation des monnaies arabes en Europe occidentale du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue Numismatique*, 5th ser., 18 (1956), 115, 128–33 nos. 26–29, 32, 34, 36; see also Kassis, "Observations," 313 n. 8.

PART THREE

PERSONALITIES AND INSTITUTIONS  
OF THE MEDIEVAL WORLD



## FREDERICK II AND THE MUSLIMS: THE MAKING OF AN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION

*James M. Powell*

In the course of time, the reputation of the Emperor Frederick II has been seriously injured. For it has been said of him that, wavering in the Catholic faith, he spoke in a way that not merely suggested the weakness of his faith but also led to condemnation of the enormity of his heresy and blasphemy. For he is said to have declared, although it may not be certain, that three impostors have skillfully and cleverly misled all their contemporaries, namely, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad. And he has put forward various nonsensical ideas about the Eucharist. God forbid that anyone with the capacity to make decisions should open his mouth and give tongue to such a mad blasphemy. For his critics charged that the Emperor Frederick preferred the law of Muhammad to that of Jesus Christ, and that he made certain Muslim prostitutes into concubines. The murmur grew among the people that the Lord was angered by such a prince, for so long more an ally and friend of the Saracens than of Christians. His critics, who were out to blacken his reputation, were also trying to prove this by numerous arguments. If they were sinning or not is known to Him, who knows all things.

Matthew Paris penned these words in the *Chronica Majora* under the year 1238 when it was already possible to see the effects of the papal campaign against Frederick II.<sup>1</sup> Very likely they were written after Frederick was dead. The source on which Matthew drew was probably oral, but there is a clear relationship to a letter of Pope Gregory IX, *Ascendit de mari bestia*, dated July 1, 1239.<sup>2</sup> This account also draws on popular reactions to Frederick's crusade and his treaty of 1229 with the Egyptian sultan, al-Kāmil. In addition, Hans Hilpert has recently emphasized the role of Richard of Cornwall in providing information from imperial sources to Matthew.<sup>3</sup> It seems plausible

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, RS, 3:520–21.

<sup>2</sup> For *Ascendit de mari bestia*, see J.L.A. Huillard-Breholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1852–61), 5:327–40. Also, Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, RS, 3:590–608. See also M.G.H., *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, 1:646–54, esp. 651. For an earlier discussion, see James M. Powell, "Frederick II and the Church: A Revisionist View," *Catholic Historical Review*, 48 (1963), 487–97.

<sup>3</sup> Hans-Eberhard Hilpert, *Kaiser-und Papstbriefe in den Chronica Majora des Matthaeus Paris* (Stuttgart, 1981), 90–173.

that Richard may also have been a channel of information that came from the court of Henry III.

Matthew knew Gregory's letter and quoted it directly in the *Chronica Majora* in conjunction with his discussion of the rupture between Frederick and the papacy in 1239.<sup>4</sup> His access to imperial letters regarding this controversy was certainly through Richard of Cornwall, evident from the fact that he quoted at length Frederick's letter to Richard, in which he defended his position against the pope.<sup>5</sup> But *Ascendit de mari bestia* is clearly not a direct source for the passage that Matthew had placed under the year 1238. His use of that date provides support for the argument that his source was independent of the papal letter. The difference between the two is evident if we compare the account given above with that in *Ascendit de mari bestia*. Gregory wrote in the latter:

Because some are unwilling to believe that he would not ensnare himself by his own words, proofs have been prepared in support of the faith that this king of pestilence stated that the whole world had been deceived by three seducers, as we use his words, namely, Christ Jesus, Moses, and Muhammad, and while two of them died in glory, Jesus was obviously hung on a cross; in addition he presumed to affirm in plain words, or rather to tell the lie that all are fools who believe that God, who created nature and all things, was born of a virgin. He confirmed his heresy by the error that maintains that no one can be born whose conception did not proceed from the joining beforehand of man and woman, and that mankind should believe nothing save what can be proven by the force and reason of nature.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to placing Jesus's name in first rather than in second place and mentioning the crucifixion, the two accounts differ in more substantial ways. Matthew refers to Frederick's supposed heretical views on the Eucharist, while Gregory's letter speaks of his denial of the virgin birth. Moreover, the first account refers to Frederick as a friend of the Saracens. While Gregory complains about his conduct of the crusade, he does not use that term. Nor does his letter refer to the tale of Frederick's Muslim concubines.

The account of Frederick's relations with Muslims found in the *Chronica Majora* under the year 1238 raises a number of issues that

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<sup>4</sup> RS, 3:590–608.

<sup>5</sup> RS, 3:575–89.

<sup>6</sup> M.G.H., *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, 1:653.



deserve further attention. One of the most important is certainly its view of Frederick as a friend of the Muslims, which has had enormous influence on modern historical writing and has only recently begun to undergo more critical examination. Ernst Kantorowicz reflected the state of this tradition in his biography when he spoke of "Frederick's sympathy for professors of another faith, in which he displayed a broadmindedness shared by very few of his contemporaries," but he recognized that these views went only so far as they were "serviceable to the State and laid no hand upon its sanctities."<sup>7</sup> Kantorowicz's ideas about the primacy accorded by Frederick to the State helped to shape his interpretation, but his conclusions were chiefly the result of an effort to reconcile two diverse lines of argument: one that had received considerable impetus from Jacob Burckhardt and placed him in the Liberal/Rationalist tradition, albeit at a protean stage, and viewed him as a precursor of political absolutism, the other that stressed his conflict with the papacy. Thomas C. Van Cleve's biography of Frederick was more indebted to a conservative nationalist interpretation of German history. If he rejected Kantorowicz's links to Stefan George and his circle and was much less a Burckhardtian than Kantorowicz, his differences concerning Frederick's relations with Muslims were not as great as he perhaps thought.<sup>8</sup> He stressed Frederick's friendship with al-Kāmil as a basis for the treaty negotiations leading up to his recovery of Jerusalem, even as he cited al-Maqrīzī's criticism of al-Kāmil for acceding to it: "That treaty was the result of the ill-conceived action of al-Kāmil in negotiations with the king of the Franks and of the fear which embarrassed him that he would not be able to resist the attack of the sovereign of Damascus."<sup>9</sup> Most recently, David Abulafia has presented a much more critical picture of Frederick's relations with the Muslims both during his crusade and in the Kingdom of Sicily. He has made clear that Frederick proceeded from a clear vision of his own interests and has called into question much of the earlier picture of Frederick as a paragon of tolerance.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second* (New York, 1957), 267.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Oxford, 1972), 217–19.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted by Van Cleve, *Frederick II*, 219.

<sup>10</sup> David Abulafia, *Frederick II* (London, 1988), 180–88; also, his "The End of Muslim Sicily," in *Muslims under Latin Rule*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), 103–33, esp. 103. See also Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe* (London, 1975), 153–55. Francesco Gabrieli, "Federico II e la cultura musulmana," *Atti del*

The image of Frederick II and the Muslims that has, until recently, dominated modern historical writing and continues to enjoy great popularity, was not the result of papal propaganda alone or of favorable accounts of him in Islamic sources, aimed at creating a more positive view of the treaty concluded with him by al-Kāmil. It also stemmed from a propaganda effort carried on by Frederick's court aimed at showing him in the best possible light in order to make the negotiations with the Sultan go more smoothly. Taken together, these three very different thrusts laid the foundation for the interpretation of Frederick as a friend of the Muslims.

The accounts found in Matthew Paris under the year 1238 and in Gregory IX's *Ascendit de mari bestia* have already been shown to be independent of one another. Likewise, save for the brief allusion to Frederick's friendship with Muslims by Matthew Paris, which seems clearly to refer to the period of his crusade, there is no evidence that these accounts have anything in common with those found in the Arabic sources. It is apparent that modern scholarship has put parts of three different traditions concerning Frederick's relations with the Muslims together to form a single description. In its original context, each of these was aimed at different audiences and served different purposes, but this aspect has been largely lost.

Matthew Paris's account in the *Chronica Majora* under the year 1238 and Gregory's letter have in common that they drew from sources familiar with the beliefs of Catharist heretics, as is evident from the denial of the Eucharist suggested in the former and the explicit rejection of the virgin birth found in the latter.<sup>11</sup> It is indeed striking that two such different accusations, each of heretical origin, should surface in connection with the story of Moses, Christ, and Muhammad as impostors. This fact suggests that the stories were circulated within and by members of a circle that was familiar with the tenets of Catharism. A possible line of enquiry is suggested by an earlier letter of Gregory IX, written in 1236, which had accused Frederick of laxness in the effort to convert the Muslim colonists he had settled in

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*Convegno Internazionale di studi Federiciani* (Palermo, 1952), 435–47, presents a view that distinguishes Frederick's politics from his "cultural" interest in Islam.

<sup>11</sup> James M. Powell, "The Papacy and the Muslim Frontier," in *Muslims under Latin Rule*, 175–203, esp. 195–97. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica*, 4:828–32, esp. 831. J.M. Martin, "La colonie Sarrasine de Lucera et son environnement: quelques réflexions," in *Mediterraneo Medievale: scritti in onore di Francesco Giunta*, 3 vols. (Rubbettino, 1989), 2:796–811.

Lucera in northern Apulia in the period after 1223–24. That letter contained no accusation of heresy against Frederick and made no direct mention of his friendship with Muslims, but complained of his failure to support the work of conversion being carried on in that area by the Dominicans.<sup>12</sup> Frederick denied these charges, referring to them as “gossip.” Given his later expulsion of the Dominicans from the kingdom of Sicily along with the Franciscans, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that the Dominicans may have been involved not merely in the complaint against Frederick’s laxity in supporting their work of conversion, but also in spreading tales about his heretical views. Without evidence, we can go no further, but the references to Catharist beliefs are suggestive, since the Dominicans were particularly concerned about heresy. Gregory IX would certainly have given heed to accounts from this source. If the Dominicans were indeed the responsible parties, the reference to Frederick’s friendship with Muslims and his Muslim concubines may be explained as an effort to minimize their own failure to make progress in converting the Luceran Muslims. The use of these charges by Gregory IX in *Ascendit de mari bestia* may represent a further stage in the spread of this story from that found in the 1238 account in the *Chronica Majora*.

The picture of Frederick as a precursor of modern tolerance is chiefly based on those accounts that describe him as a friend of Muslims. The period of negotiations leading up to his crusade and acquisition of Jerusalem produced a propaganda effort aimed at portraying him in a favorable light to the Muslims of Egypt and Syria. Although most of this material appears in Arabic sources, it represents an effort on his part to create a positive image of himself and a deliberate propaganda campaign on the part of the Sultan’s court to defend their own negotiations with the Emperor and the subsequent treaty. Frederick was chiefly concerned to depict himself in a favorable light to al-Kāmil and the Muslims. He went to great lengths to impress Fakhr al-Dīn, al-Kāmil’s chief emissary, with his

<sup>12</sup> Powell, “The Papacy,” 195–96. For Gregory’s letter, cf. *M.G.H., Epistolae saeculi XIII*, 1:573–76; esp. 575. In his reply of April 16, 1236, Frederick appealed specifically to the principle of “utility” (1:583). Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica*, 4:828–32, esp. 831: “e montanis Sicilie Sarracenorum removimus incolatum, ubi plures christianos quam hodie insula predicta contineat, ipsorum iniquitas interemit, ipsos in media christianorum planitie collocantes, utilitatem hujusmodi sumus experti quod ad catholice fidei redeunt unitatem.”

friendship. Two letters, supposedly written by Frederick to Fakhr al-Dīn in 1229, strongly suggest the extent to which this propaganda was being carried on.<sup>13</sup> These letters relate Frederick's trouble with Pope Gregory IX, stemming from Gregory's invasion of the kingdom of Sicily while he was abroad on crusade. The tone, as noted by Gabrieli, is couched in the language reserved for absent friends.<sup>14</sup> Although these letters are forgeries, the sentiments they present are consistent with Frederick's treatment of Fakhr al-Dīn, including his knighting of this Muslim ambassador. Given the details furnished in the letters, there may well have been some communication from Frederick to Fakhr al-Dīn that served as a model, though the original has now been lost. Even without that, they provide reason for presuming that Frederick was a source of propaganda aimed at showing him as a friend of Muslims.<sup>15</sup>

Ibn Wāṣil furnishes an especially valuable account that reflects not merely Frederick's own efforts but the arguments in favor of the treaty put forth by al-Kāmil.

The Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil maintained that if he broke with the emperor and failed to give him full satisfaction the result would be a war with the Franks in which the Muslims would suffer irreparably, and everything for which they were working would slip from their grasp. So he was in favor of satisfying the Franks with a disarmed Jerusalem and making a temporary truce with them. He could seize the concessions back from them later when he chose to. The amir Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Shaikh conducted the negotiations for him, and many conversations and discussions took place between them, during which the Emperor sent to al-Malik al-Kāmil queries on difficult philosophic, geometric, and mathematical points, to test the men of learning at this court. The Sultan passed the mathematical questions on to Shaikh 'Alam al-Dīn Qaisar, a master of that art, and the rest to a group of scholars, who answered them all. Then al-Malik al-Kāmil and the Emperor swore to observe the terms of the agreement and made a truce for a fixed term.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, the Arabic sources shed light on the way in which Frederick presented himself as a friend of Muslims. But his propaganda, di-

<sup>13</sup> Francesco Gabrieli, ed. and trans., *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), 280–83.

<sup>14</sup> Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, 281 n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, 280.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, 270. For other accounts see Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi in Gabrieli, 273–75, and Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2 vols.

rected toward the Sultan and his emissary at the time of his crusade, had a negative impact among those Latins who were critical of his efforts. His activities came under particular scrutiny from the patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerold, whose letter to Pope Gregory reflected the negative aspects of Frederick's policy.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, it is evident that Frederick was playing a desperate game; he needed a success in order to counter his image as a reluctant crusader. The result was a propaganda coup for his critics.

These Arabic sources were not known in the West during the Middle Ages; only Frederick's own activities and propaganda, albeit in a rather distorted fashion, became part of the Latin historiographical tradition. For this reason, it is understandable that modern scholarship has tended to accept what has appeared to be independent evidence from Latin and Arabic sources of Frederick's friendship with Muslims and his criticisms of his fellow Christians. The historiographical climate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was well prepared to accept the view that there was widespread intolerance in the West, particularly among the hierarchy of the church. At the same time, it became increasingly fashionable to stress the tolerance found within Islam. Frederick thus appeared as an exceptional model of toleration. Clearly, in light of his treatment of Muslims in Sicily, he does not merit this prize.

Modern writing on Frederick has continued to deal with the problem of his relations with the Muslims in a context determined by its focus on toleration. Quite recently, for example, David Abulafia, who has made important contributions toward a better understanding of Jewish, Muslim, Christian relations in this period, has argued against the proposition that Sicily should be characterized as an island of tolerance.<sup>18</sup> Frederick's relations with the Muslims, whether in Sicily or in his negotiations with al-Kāmil, had little to do with toleration. They were guided by the principles of *necessitas* and *utilitas*, which established the rationale for much of state policy in the thirteenth century. The moral dimension of *necessitas* and *utilitas* was based on the virtue of prudence, which formed an essential linchpin to governmental policy-making. Necessity impelled the ruler to cultivate

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(Cambridge, 1971), 2:39. See also Michele Amari, *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1880–81), 1:518–99; 2:257–58, 262–63.

<sup>17</sup> Van Cleve, *Frederick II*, 217; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica*, 3:102–10, esp. 104.

<sup>18</sup> Abulafia, "End of Muslim Sicily," 103.

friendship with Muslims; utility dictated that the value of friendship and co-operation with enemies be weighed against the needs of the community. The medieval view of tolerance recognized that practical considerations outweighed some religious objections. Modern scholarship has paid little attention to these principles and has largely ignored the circumstances that produced the Latin and Arabic sources on Frederick's relations with Muslims. Noting their similarities of viewpoint, scholars have assumed that they reflect Frederick's attitudes and policies accurately. In fact, they reflect the success of his propaganda and the manner in which that ammunition was used, either by his Western critics to characterize him as disrespectful of Christian beliefs or by al-Kāmil and his supporters to mitigate the effect of an unpopular treaty.

Frederick II was not a prefiguration of *homo tolerans* in the eighteenth and nineteenth century tradition. Nor were Gregory IX, Gerold, and the mendicants models of intolerance. Moreover, Muslim toleration of the *Dhimmi*, the Jewish and Christian religious minorities, has been too long romanticized. In fact, Christian and Muslim views on religious minorities sprang from similar origins. Rather than providing evidence of the degrees of tolerance and intolerance in Western society and Islam the sources examined here give us a deeper insight into the manipulation of political and religious ideology for propaganda purposes in the thirteenth century. It is quite evident that all parties worked with and played on the popular attitudes of Christians and Muslims toward one another. Frederick was attempting at the very least to influence the attitudes of Muslim leaders at al-Kāmil's court in his favor, but some of his actions may have been directed to a larger audience. Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī tells the story how Frederick entered the city of Jerusalem after the conclusion of the treaty and, in the Dome of the Rock, found a Christian priest, taking pieces of paper from some Franks. He struck the priest and cursed him for daring to violate the Dome of the Rock. If we accept the story as true, and it may be essentially accurate, it suggests that Frederick was sensitive to the problems of the Sultan and attempted to support him against his Muslim critics. That such support was welcome is evident from the prominence that it received in Arabic sources. Muslim public opinion was anti-Frankish and anti-Christian; this situation had to be countered by making Frederick an exception to the rule.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, 273–75. Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī tells us that he preached a

In the West, there was also an effort to exploit anti-Muslim feeling, but the main thrust was not directed against the Muslims but against Frederick's lack of religious commitment. It is perhaps not surprising that Matthew Paris, given his general attitude toward the papacy, was unwilling to take Frederick's critics at their own value. What is even more interesting is the fact that Thaddeus of Suessa, at the Council of Lyons in 1245, defended Frederick from the charge of heresy by maintaining that the policy pursued by the Emperor in his relations with the Muslims had been based on the virtue of prudence.<sup>20</sup> Such an argument must have been regarded as strong to have been brought up at this time. And, in fact, the policies of other western rulers in their dealings with the Muslims followed much the same principles. Frederick was more in the tradition of Richard Lionheart or Jaume the Conqueror than of Voltaire. The effort to cast him in the latter light has long obscured an interesting chapter in Latin-Muslim relations.

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sermon in Damascus about the loss of Jerusalem. In it, he stated that "the road to Jerusalem is closed to the companies of pious visitors." Certainly, this assertion, which is contrary to the treaty, must reflect the attitude of many Muslims opposed to the agreement reached between Frederick and al-Kāmil. Ibn al-Furāt, writing later in the thirteenth century, has a passage that reports on opposition at the court of the Sultan. This account is clearly anti-Western and shows none of the sympathy for Frederick found in earlier passages of the same source (*Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2:61-63). For a dramatic description of the triumphal feelings of Muslims after the battle of Hittin, see 'Imad al-Din's description of the killing of the Hospitallers and Templars (Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, 138-39). Ibn al Furāt's chronicle suggests that the legends surrounding Frederick II continued to develop in some Muslim circles down to the time of King Louis IX's crusade (*Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2:9-10, 39).

<sup>20</sup> RS, 57, 4:436.

## DOMINICAN PAPALISM AND THE ARTS IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ROME

Thomas M. Izbicki

"In authority you are Moses." No words better illustrate the fusion of old and new in papal Rome during the fifteenth century than do these, which treat the lawgiver as a type or figure of the Roman pontiff. They are found in one of the most famous works of Bernard of Clairvaux, his *De consideratione*, a treatise of the spirituality necessary for a Roman pontiff, which was addressed to Pope Eugenius III, himself a former Cistercian monk. From this source, these words entered during the Fifteenth Century into the papalist tradition as yet another authority to be cited against the enemies of the papacy, often without any reference to their author's exhortation, in the same work, of the legalism of the Roman curia.<sup>1</sup> More immediately to our purpose, Pope Eugenius IV was beseeched to read this treatise by Ambrogio Traversari, the Camaldolese monastic reformer and translator of Greek patristic texts into Latin, who even promised to send the Roman pontiff a copy. Like Bernard, he was a contemplative busy in the affairs of the world. If Traversari intended to play Bernard to the new Eugenius, however, he was mistaken. Instead, he became an agent of the Condulmer pope in his struggle with the Council of Basel, which sought to bring a monarchic papacy under conciliar control.<sup>2</sup> Traversari's mission to Basel, where he sought

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope*, trans. J. D. Anderson and E. T. Kennan (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1976), 66 (bk. II, chap. 15). On legalism, see 31–32: (bk. I, chap. 5). For the Latin texts of these passages, see *S. Bernardi opera*, vol. 3: *Tractatus et opuscula*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (Roma, 1963), 423, 398–99.

<sup>2</sup> On the relationship of Traversari's scholarship to his role in Eugenius' regime, see C. L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany, New York, 1977), 167–202. For his role in the work of union, see 203–22. On his mission to Basel, see J. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire: The Conflict Over Supreme Authority and Power in the Church* (Leiden, 1978), 23–26. On his monastic role, see G. Somigli and T. Bargellini, *Ambrogio Traversari, monaco camaldolese* (Bologna, 1968); and *Ambrogio Traversari, un monaco e un monastero nell'umanesimo fiorentino*, ed. S. Frigerio (Siena, 1988). Traversari eventually presented a copy of *De consideratione*, possibly that found among Eugenius' effects after his death; see E. Müntz



supporters for Eugenius, was a far cry from Bernard's commanding presence on the political and religious scene of his day; but it did help bring into the pope's service two ready Eugenians, the Dominican theologians Juan de Torquemada and Giovanni da Montenero, both of whom feared conciliar reform would include an attack on the privileges of the friars.<sup>3</sup> They would employ the Thomist tradition of their order, which endorsed direct papal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs but only an indirect role for the Roman pontiff in secular matters, in writings, in debates, and on missions to promote the interests of Eugenius IV. Like Traversari, they would participate in the efforts of the Council of Ferrara-Florence to reunite the Eastern and Western churches under the Roman pontiff.<sup>4</sup>

When, on July 5, 1439, the council issued the bull *Laetentur caeli*, proclaiming the reunion of the Greeks and the Latins, that text would include a reaffirmation of papal supremacy, together with an ambiguous reference to the privileges of the Eastern patriarchates.<sup>5</sup> This union, although it proved to be temporary, opened the way for a fresh infusion of Greek learning, both classical and patristic, into the West. It also improved the political fortunes of Eugenius, who could pose as the champion of ecclesiastical unity, contrasted with the contemporaneous effort of the Basel assembly to depose him and to replace him with Amadeus VIII of Savoy, the council's Pope Felix V. In September of the same year, Eugenius launched a doctrinal and diplomatic offensive against conciliarism, presenting himself to

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and P. Fabre, *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après des documents inédits: Contributions pour servir à l'histoire de l'humanisme* (Paris, 1887), 11; C. Stinger, "St. Bernard and Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447)," *Cistercian Ideals and Reality*, ed. J. R. Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1978), 329-43. For a copy of *De consideratione* made for Nicholas V in 1451, see *Codices Vaticanici latini*, ed. M. Vattasso and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, vol. 1: *Codices 1-678* (Roma, 1902), 514-15. Eugenius IV would choose to be buried by Eugenius III; see Stinger, "St. Bernard," 335; *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, ed. R. Wolkan (Wien, 1909-1918), 2:pt. 1, 252.

<sup>3</sup> Giovanni di Montenero O. P., *difensore dei mendicanti: Studi e documenti sui concili di Basilea e di Firenze*, ed. G. Meersseman (Roma, 1938); T. M. Izbicki, "The Council of Ferrara-Florence and Dominican Papalism," in *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/39-1989*, ed. G. Alberigo (Leuven, 1991), 429-43.

<sup>4</sup> M. A. Schmidt, "The Problem of Papal Primacy at the Council of Florence," *Church History*, 30 (1961), 35-49.

<sup>5</sup> C. M. D. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378-1460* (New York, 1977), 167-72. For a Latin text, see *Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes*, ed. G. Hofmann (Roma, 1944), pt. 2:68-79, no. 176. On the clause concerning papal primacy see J. Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1964), 264-86.

the princes of Europe as a fellow monarch resisting rebellion.<sup>6</sup> The first step in this counterattack was a bull entitled *Moyses*, in which the decree *Haec sancta* of the Council of Constance, on which Basel's pretensions were founded, was dismissed as merely the act of a single obedience in the Great Western Schism, that of the Pisan pope John XXIII. This text also dismissed the champions of conciliar supremacy as later day versions of Dathan, Abiram and Korah, whom God struck down when they rebelled against the legitimate authority of Moses, an Old Testament "type" of Roman pontiff.<sup>7</sup> At this point Traversari, his health failing, was intent on withdrawing from the world; and Montenero too faded from the scene. Torquemada, however, emerged as the papacy's principal apologist. When Eugenius decided to reinforce the points made in *Moyses* by staging a public debate on the issues of conciliar and papal power, he chose Torquemada to uphold the monarchic viewpoint against Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, an erstwhile president of the Council of Basel, who defended conciliarism. Cesarini's speech does not survive; but Torquemada's address answered it point by point and made many of the same points as had the bull *Moyses*, suggesting that the friar had a hand in drafting it. Among the authorities cited by Torquemada in defense of papalism, alongside passages from the Bible, the Fathers and canon law, were citations from the works of Bernard of Clairvaux, including an allusion to his invocation of Moses as figure of the pope. This allusion seems to have been Torquemada's own choice from the abbot's works, since papal apologists and other publicists of the preceding centuries made no apparent use of that portion of *De consideratione*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> A. Black, *Monarchy and Community: Political Ideas in the Later Conciliar Controversy, 1430-1450* (Cambridge, 1970), 85-129.

<sup>7</sup> Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform*, 172-77. For the Latin text, the final version of which was written by Flavio Biondo, see *Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes*, pt. 2:101-6, no. 210; *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo et al., 3rd ed. (Bologna, 1973), 529-34. On Biondo's relations with Eugenius, which included a role in drafting the bull *Etsi non dubitemus*, see E. Marino, "Eugenio IV e la storiografia di Flavio Biondo," *Memorie domenicane*, n.s. 4 (1973), 241-87. The Council of Basel replied in the synodal letter *Beatus Hieronymus*; see *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi et al. (Paris, 1901-1927; Graz, 1960), 29:344-55. The fate of Dathan, Abiram and Korah also was threatened in an admonition read at the ninth session of the Council of Florence on March 23, 1440; see *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, 559-66 (564). For specific mention of the use of Bernard by Eugenius by a conciliarist, see Nicolaus de Tudeschis (Panormitanus), *Tractatus "Quoniam veritas," Deutsche Reichstagsakten* (München, 1867-1973), 16:440-538 (461, 463), no. 212.

<sup>8</sup> For an allusion to Bernard's invocation of Moses as type, see Juan de

Although monarchic polemic, as articulated by Torquemada and others, was of little interest to the powers of Europe, the papacy's agents seem to have drawn new confidence from the proceedings in Florence. One by one, by argument, persuasion and practical concessions, they won princes and prelates over to the Eugenian cause. One result of this effort was the gradual defeat of the Council of Basel; another was the pacification of Rome, which had rebelled against Eugenius when his fortunes were at their nadir. The curia, including Juan de Torquemada, who had been rewarded with the red hat of a cardinal at the end of 1439, was able to return to the Eternal City in 1443. There this Dominican cardinal settled at the convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, his order's seat in the most populous part of the city.

At the Minerva, Torquemada and others of his order would propound Thomism, the Old Learning, alongside the New. There too they would embrace the new artistic styles of the Renaissance and the new technology of printing. Eugenius IV set the fashion in art patronage, promoting a more classicizing style than had his predecessor, Martin V.<sup>9</sup> Eugenius had Filarete (Antonio Averlino) complete the doors which he had been commissioned to provide for the Vatican basilica, doors which commemorated one of the successes—the work of ecclesiastical union—of the Council of Ferrara-Florence. In their final form, the doors referred to the reunion of the Syrian Jacobites, which was consummated on September 30, 1444. The union with the Maronites and Nestorians was completed on August 7, 1445,

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Torquemada, *A Disputation on the Authority of Pope and Council*, trans. T. M. Izbicki (Oxford, 1988), 66; the Latin text can be found in *Oratio synodalis de primatu*, ed. E. Candal (Roma, 1954). For a direct quote, see idem, *Summa de ecclesia* (Venezia, 1571), fol. 166v. (bk. II, chap. li). The same passage was cited frequently by later papalists, e.g. *Defensorium obedientiae apostolicae et alia documenta*, ed. and trans. H. A. Oberman et al. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968), 92, 294, 362. Compare, however, earlier citations, whose use of figurative language from *De consideratione* is limited to rare mention of the metaphor of the two swords; see *Johannes Quidort von Paris O. P. (+1306), De confessionibus audiendis (Quaestio disputata Parisius de potestate papae)*, ed. L. Hödl (München, 1962), 32, 35, 47, 49; *Johannes Quidort von Paris, Über königliche und päpstliche Gewalt (De regia potestate): Textliche Edition mit deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. F. Bleienstein (Stuttgart, 1969), 88, 93, 100–101, 110, 115–16, 122–23, 166; *Hervei Natalis . . . In quattuor libros sententiarum commentaria quibus adiectus est eiusdem auctoris Tractatus de potestate papae . . .* (Paris, 1647; Farnborough, 1969), 380, 396.

<sup>9</sup> R. Cocke, "Filarete at St. Peter's, Fra Angelico in the Vatican: Art and a Sense of Decorum in the Service of the Church," in *Decorum in Renaissance Narrative Art: Papers Delivered at the Annual Conference of the Association of Art Historians, London, April 1991*, ed. F. Ames-Lewis and A. Bednarek (London, 1992), 44–51, esp. 44–48.

while Filarete's doors were about to be put into place.<sup>10</sup> This commemoration of a papal triumph would be followed by many others, including masterpieces by the likes of Fra Angelico and Michelangelo.<sup>11</sup>

During his residence at the Minerva, Torquemada himself became a patron of the arts, a collector of books, a promoter of monastic observance and an authoritarian both in theory and practice. In his role as a papal apologist, the cardinal taught himself canon law atop his expertise in theology.<sup>12</sup> He was capable of using this erudition to refute at length and trenchantly the enemies of the institutional Church and of its monarch, the pope, including the conciliarists, the Greeks, the Hussites, the Bogomils, and the anti-semitic Old Christians of Toledo. The power of the pope was exalted within the traditional constraints imposed by the office on the person. Papal intervention was used, in practice, to expel from their convents and monasteries religious who would not accept reform. This zeal for order and discipline fits in well with the irritability of an aging sufferer from gout, who, nevertheless, could adopt the new technology of printing as a tool for the diffusion of his own ideas.<sup>13</sup>

Certain of these factors deserve to be reviewed in detail, since they illustrate the interaction of old and new in fifteenth-century Rome. Torquemada's efforts as collector of books, as patron of the arts, and

<sup>10</sup> E. Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des papes pendant le XV<sup>e</sup> et le XVI<sup>e</sup>: Recueil de documents inédits tirés des archives et des bibliothèques romaines* (Paris, 1878), pt. 1:41–44; A. M. Schulz, *The Sculpture of Bernardo Rossellino and His Workshop* (Princeton, 1977), 8, 19, fig. 137. This project has a complicated history; see J. R. Spencer, "Filarete's Bronze Doors at St. Peter's: A Cooperative Project with Complications of Chronology and Technique," in *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art*, ed. W. Stedman Sheard and J. T. Paoletti (New Haven, 1978), 33–45 with plates on 47–57; C. King, "Filarete's Portrait Signature on the Bronze Doors of St. Peter's and the Dance of Bathylkes and His Assistants," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 53 (1990), 296–99. For interpretations of contemporaneous works of art as Eugenic polemic, see J. L. Levy, "The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: Ecclesiastical Authority and Hierarchy in the Beaune Altarpiece," *Art History*, 14 (1991), 18–50; P. Brown, "*Laelentur caeli*: The Council of Florence and the Astronomical Fresco in the Old Sacristy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 44 (1981), 176–80.

<sup>11</sup> Fra Angelico's fresco cycle of the life of Christ, done in the Chapel of the Sacrament for Eugenius IV circa 1445–1447, has been destroyed; see W. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco* (New Haven, 1993), 246.

<sup>12</sup> K. Binder, "Juan de Torquemada, Verfasser der *Nova ordinatio decreti Gratiani*," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 22 (1952), 268–93; T. M. Izbicki, "Johannes de Turrecremata, Two Questions on Law," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 43 (1975), 91–94.

<sup>13</sup> For Torquemada's accomplishments in Rome, see T. M. Izbicki, *Protector of the Faith: Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata and the Defense of the Institutional Church* (Washington, D.C., 1981), 16–30.

as patron of printing will be reviewed. Then the continued importance of the Minerva, the cardinal's former residence, in the cultural life of Rome after his death, will be examined. Finally, a different connection between the Dominicans and the Roman Renaissance, underlining the ties between Torquemada's papalism and papal patronage of the arts, will be drawn.

Libraries lay at the heart of learned Rome, libraries reflecting both the Old Learning and the New. Most of these were accumulated first by individuals and then incorporated into institutional collections, including the newborn Vatican Library. Nicholas V, in whose election Cardinal Juan de Torquemada participated, lavished attention on his library, as he did on his plans for the refurbishing of the Eternal City. The translations for which this humanist pope paid and the manuscripts which he bought would form the nucleus of the Vatican Library, which was institutionalized by Sixtus IV. Many cardinals, including the brilliant Nicholas of Cusa, the learned Bessarion of Nicaea, the worldly Guillaume d'Estouteville, and the detested Jean Jouffroy, were bibliophiles.<sup>14</sup> The respected Domenico Capranica collected on a large scale; and, unlike those prelates, most of his collection would be bestowed on a foundation in Rome, his Collegio Capranica, one of the intellectual props of the *Studium Urbis* and a prototype of the seminaries established in later centuries.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> On Nicholas V and Renaissance culture, see C. Vasoli, "Profilo di un papa umanista: Tommaso Parentucelli," in *Studi sulla cultura del Rinascimento* (Manduria, 1968), 69–121; C. Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447–55* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1974); Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1990); *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, ed. A. Grafton (Washington, D. C., 1993), passim. On the libraries of the cardinals named here, see, respectively, C. Bianca, "La biblioteca romana di Niccolò Cusano," in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: Atti del 2o seminario 6–8 maggio 1982*, ed. M. Migli et al. (Città del Vaticano, 1983), 669–708; T. Gasparrini Leporace, "L'ordinamento della biblioteca nicena," in *Miscellanea marciana di studi Bessarionei: A coronamento del V Centenario della donazione nicena*, ed. R. Avesai et al. (Padova, 1976), xiii–xx; A. Esposito Aliano, "La biblioteca di Guglielmo d'Estouteville," in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: Atti del seminario 1–2 giugno 1979*, ed. C. Bianca et al. (Città del Vaticano, 1980), 309–43; A. Lanconelli, "La biblioteca romana di Jean Jouffroy," in *ibid.*, 275–94. On the furor created by Jouffroy's promotion to the cardinalate, see L. Totaro, *Pio II nei suoi Commentarii* (Bologna, 1978), 147–54.

<sup>15</sup> A. V. Antonovics, "The Library of Cardinal Domenico Capranica," in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. C. H. Clough (Manchester, 1976), 141–59.

Torquemada's library would not remain united at his death; but a large part of it remained in Rome, at the Minerva, becoming an important part of a notable conventual library. Other portions would pass to San Pablo de Valladolid and, possibly, to Santa Maria in Trastevere, one of the cardinal's titular churches.<sup>16</sup> One manuscript would find a home in Castel Sant' Angelo before being sent to the Vatican library. All portions have suffered further dispersal, one manuscript ending up in Berkeley, California. The cardinal's collection had a life of its own, reflecting his career. Certain stages, however, can be noted.<sup>17</sup> The young friar Juan de Torquemada studied theology at Paris, and his earliest acquisitions were theological. Torquemada, thereafter, undertook the administrative tasks of a prior at Dominican convents in Spain, where he acquired a *summa confessorum* to guide him in the pastoral care of his brothers. When this theologian reached Basel, he was both a representative of his order and an envoy of Castile. Basel had become a cultural center, where new works were composed and old ones were copied. The Old Learning was represented in works of canon law and treatises on ecclesiastical issues; the New, by classical and humanistic texts.<sup>18</sup> Torquemada, once he took up the cudgels for Eugenius IV, found it necessary to acquire conciliarist texts and to gather resources, Thomist, patristic, and legal, for the refutation of conciliarism. This collecting pattern continued through the years from Torquemada's meeting with Traversari in Basel to his own arrival at the Minerva as a cardinal. While resident in Rome, Torquemada undertook the composition of his massive *Summa de ecclesia*, a comprehensive defense of the ecclesiastical institution, and a commentary on Gratian's *Decretum*, meant to show that authorities employed by the conciliarists had a truer

<sup>16</sup> On the library of the Minerva, see G. Meersseman, *La bibliothèque des Frères Prêcheurs de la Minerve à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Mélanges August Pelzer* (Leuven, 1947), 605–34; D. Barbalarga, "Centri di aggregazione: La biblioteca domenicana di S. Maria sopra Minerva," in *Un pontificato ed una città, Sisto IV (1471–1484): Atti del convegno Roma, 3–7 dicembre 1984*, ed. M. Miglio et al. (Città del Vaticano, 1986), 599–612. For Torquemada's bequest to S. Maria in Trastevere, see *ibid.*, 603.

<sup>17</sup> T. M. Izbicki, "Notes on the Manuscript Library of Cardinal Juan de Torquemada," *Scriptorium*, 35 (1981), 306–11, esp. appendix 1 on 311. As noted by Barbalarga, "La biblioteca di S. Maria sopra Minerva," 605, we are far from having a complete list of Torquemada's library; see, however, the new list in the Appendix to this paper.

<sup>18</sup> J. Helmuth, "Kommunikation auf den spätmittelalterlichen Konzilien," in *Die Bedeutung der Kommunikation für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Referate der 12. Arbeitstagung der Gesellschaft für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom 22.–25. 4. 1987 a Siegen*, ed. H. Pohl (Stuttgart, 1989), 116–72.

papalist sense.<sup>19</sup> To complete those works the cardinal collected more purely technical works of canon law. He also had beautifully ornamented copies of his works prepared, both for his own collection and for presentation to the reigning pope. The former were decorated with the cardinal's coat of arms, which displayed a tower in flames.<sup>20</sup>

Torquemada's arguments are studded with the names of Greek and Latin Fathers, including Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom and Cyprian. In such a case, it is easy to confuse the name with direct knowledge of the original texts. An example of this danger is Charles Stinger's mistaken conclusion that a papalist tract by Piero da Monte, dedicated to Nicholas V, reflected the Greek patristic texts translated for that papal Maecenas. These supposed evidences of the New Learning prove, on closer examination, to derive, directly or indirectly, from the works of Thomas Aquinas, who had copied many of these quotations, especially the pseudonymous ones, from the polemical treatise of another Dominican, Nicholas of Durazzo, against the Greeks. Piero simply put this old wine into the new skins of humanistic Latin, copied in a more fashionable script with more fashionable decoration, for presentation to the Roman pontiff. Similarly, much of Torquemada's "patristic" arsenal came from Thomas, from his *Opuscula* and from his *Catena aurea* on the Gospels, as well as from the Ordinary Gloss on the Bible or from the *Decretum* of Gratian.<sup>21</sup>

This, however, is not uniformly true. The Council of Basel, as has been noted, was a marketplace of books and the ideas they contained. Torquemada was not blind to those currents; and he acquired in Basel, alongside the Angelic Doctor's critique of the errors of the Greeks, a partial collection of the writings of Cyprian of Carthage, one of his favorite patristic authorities.<sup>22</sup> These texts and others were

<sup>19</sup> K. Binder, *Wesen und Eigenschaften der Kirche bei Kardinal Juan de Torquemada O.P.* (Innsbruck, 1954); idem, *Konzilgedanken bei Kardinal Juan de Torquemada O.P.* (Wien, 1976); U. Horst, "Grenzen der päpstlichen Autorität: Konziliare Elemente in der Ekklesiologie des Johannes Torquemada," *Frieburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 19 (1972), 361–88.

<sup>20</sup> J. Garrastachu, "Los manuscritos del Cardenal Juan de Torquemada en la Biblioteca Vaticana," *La Ciencia Tomista*, 41 (1930), 188–217, 291–322.

<sup>21</sup> C. L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1984), 168–69; T. M. Izbicki, "Petrus de Monte and Cyril of Alexandria," *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum*, 14 (1986), 293–300.

<sup>22</sup> Codex Vaticanus latinus 4260, fols. 109r.–156v. On the polemics against the Greeks, see A. Dondaine, "Contra Graecos, premières écrits polémiques des dominicains d'Orient," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 21 (1951), 320–446 (325).

used in his *Summa de ecclesia* alongside the excerpts from that Latin Father's works found in the *Decretum*.<sup>23</sup> Thus this Dominican theologian was not blind to the possible use of the complete texts sought by the humanists to buttress his arguments. In this context, it is interesting to find Poggio Bracciolini writing from Florence to Rome a nostalgic tribute to old friends and old haunts in the Eternal City, but to Torquemada, not to a fellow humanist. Similarly, Lorenzo Valla hoped to find in the Dominican cardinal a sympathetic promoter of his interests in the curia.<sup>24</sup>

Torquemada's role as a patron of the arts ties directly to his sojourn in Florence and to his promotion of the observant movement, itself somewhat authoritarian, in the Order of Preachers. The cardinal was involved in the transfer of the Florentine monastery of San Marco to the observants of San Domenico, Fiesole, who were led by Antoninus of Florence, a leading moralist, later to be archbishop of his native city and an uneasy partner of the convent's patron, Cosimo de Medici.<sup>25</sup> Cosimo de Medici would maintain a cell at San Marco as a retreat from the cares of politics and finance. That cell and the others were decorated by Fra Angelico and his assistants with depictions of Christ, Mary, and the saints; most of these frescoes include at least one of the three canonized Dominican saints, Dominic himself, Aquinas, or Peter Martyr. There can be little doubt that the painter intended his brothers to learn from these scenes so that they might imitate in their lives of prayer the gestures of the saints of their order.<sup>26</sup> Torquemada, sometime after his promotion to the cardinalate in December of 1439, perhaps in the early 1450s, com-

<sup>23</sup> Juan de Torquemada, *Summa de ecclesia*, e.g., fol. 11v. (bk. II, chap. viii), citing letter 75 (*PL* 4:427) and letter 65 (*PL* 4:406–9). The citations to Cyprian's letters in his debate with Cesarini derive neither from Gratian, nor from this manuscript, which suggests access to another, more complete, collection. But the one excerpt from the treatise on the unity of the Church not from the *Decretum* can be found in the complete text at fols. 116v.–119r. in Vat. lat. 4260.

<sup>24</sup> P. G. Gordan, "Poggio at the Curia," in *Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento: Atti del Convegno su Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento New York 1–4 dicembre 1981*, ed. P. Brezzi et al. (New York, 1984), 113–26 (121); *Laurentii Valle epistolae*, ed. O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi (Padova, 1984), 312–13, no. 41.

<sup>25</sup> R. Morçay, *Saint Antonin, fondateur du convent de Saint-Marc, archevêque de Florence (1389–1459)* (Tours, 1914); G. Agresti, *Arcivescovo dei ronzi: Vita di S. Antonino da Firenze* (Genova, 1989).

<sup>26</sup> W. Hood, "Fra Angelico at S. Marco: Art and the Liturgy of the Cloistered Life," in *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. T. Verdon and J. Henderson (Syracuse, New York, 1990), 108–31. On the relationship of the observants to lay patrons, as well as to conventuals, which affected



missioned from Fra Angelico, probably for his cell at the Minerva, a painting of himself praying at the foot of the cross, which is flanked by the Virgin Mary and Saint John, a picture now found at the Fogg Museum of Harvard University.<sup>27</sup> It may have been through Torquemada that Fra Angelico came to the attention first of Eugenius IV, as was noted above,<sup>28</sup> and then of Nicholas V, causing the painter to travel to Rome. Pope Nicholas had the painter decorate a chapel in the Vatican Palace with scenes from the lives of two holy deacons, Saints Steven and Lawrence. The latter's ordination was depicted with Nicholas V as Pope Saint Sixtus and three cardinals, including Torquemada, as his attending clerics.<sup>29</sup> Fra Angelico died in Rome during his final visit, and he lies buried at Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Nearby is a cloister which Torquemada had built and ordered painted for the convent, the decoration of which may have brought Fra Angelico to Rome that last time. The paintings, now lost, seem to have been based on the artist's work at San Marco; but other hands may have executed his designs.<sup>30</sup> The convent's affiliation with the Lombard Congregation of Observants was Torquemada's own idea; and to house the reformed friars, he also financed the rebuilding of much of the church and the construction of a Chapel of the Annunciation. After the cardinal's death, patronage of the chapel passed to the Confraternity of the Annunciation, which he had founded to dower poor girls of good birth. The popes honored the guild and its celestial patroness thereafter by celebrating the feast of the Annunciation at the Minerva. Torquemada himself lies buried in the confraternity's chapel. The confraternity honored its

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the milieu in which Fra Angelico worked, see N. Rubinstein, "Lay Patronage and Observant Reform in Fifteenth-Century Florence," in *ibid.*, 63-82. Torquemada too introduced Thomas Aquinas into one of his commissions, a tableaux of the Last Supper together with the Angelic Doctor officiating at the eucharist, which he presented for Pius II's celebration of Corpus Christi at Viterbo in 1462; see *Pii II commentarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contingerunt*, ed. A. Van Heck (Città del Vaticano, 1984), 2:500.

<sup>27</sup> N. Valois, *Fra Angelico et le Cardinal Jean de Torquemada* (Paris, 1904); J. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1974), 37, fig. 41, pl. 141; Hood, *Fra Angelico*, 197.

<sup>28</sup> See above n. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 29-33; S. Orlandi, *Beato Angelico: Monografia storica della vita e delle opere con un'appendice di nuovi documenti* (Firenze, 1964), 97-103. Torquemada may be depicted there as one of the clergy accompanying Pope Saint Sixtus, whose features are those of Pope Nicholas, and as Thomas Aquinas; see Orlandi, *Beato Angelico*, xvii.

<sup>30</sup> Hood, *Fra Angelico*, 277-78, esp. plates 261 and 262.

founder by ordering in 1499 a panel depicting him presenting girls dowered by the guild to the Virgin Annunciate, a work completed by Antoniazzo Romano in 1500.<sup>31</sup> (The Annunciation scene, with an architectural background instead of the cardinal and the girls, can be found on the walls of the Gardner Museum in Boston.<sup>32</sup>)

Torquemada's involvement in the decoration of the Minerva also is tied to his role in the introduction of printing into Italy. As Carosi has observed, speculation about the cardinal's involvement in the coming of the first printers to Subiaco, where he was commendatory abbot, has been overdrawn. Torquemada did make the monastery an example of monastic observance impressive even to Pius II, but he was not involved in the internal life of the community. When Sweynheym and Pannartz set up shop at Santa Scolastica, they probably were drawn there by the monastery's established German ties.<sup>33</sup> When Torquemada did take an interest printing, he employed another German, Ulric Han, whose work was less refined and whose choice of texts to print was less erudite than that of his precursors. The works which Torquemada wanted to print, devotional books for a wide and unsophisticated audience, fit Han's more rough and ready approach better than the elegant productions of Sweynheym and Pannartz did. The cardinal thus became the sponsor of the first illustrated book printed in Italy, his own *Meditationes*, pictures loosely based on the frescoes in the cloister at the Minerva with texts expounding their meanings, indicating the lines along which the viewer should think. One of these, significantly enough, was a picture of Christ consigning the keys to Peter. The meditation on its significance includes a reference to one of the several papalist passages in the works

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<sup>31</sup> G. Palmiero and G. Villetti, *Storia edilizia di S. Maria sopra Minerva in Roma, 1275-1870* (Roma, 1989), esp. 63-65, 151-52, 261-62; Orlandi, *Beato Angelico*, xxiv, 129-45, 148. Torquemada also had rebuilt the conventual church of S. Biagio in Tivoli; see Palmiero, *Storia edilizia*, 65. For a reproduction of the Annunciation panel, see J. J. Berthier, *L'église de la Minerve à Rome* (Roma, 1910), 103. On Antoniazzo, or Antonio Aquili, see Berthier, *Minerve*, 102, 284; A. Paolucci, *Antoniazzo Romano: Catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Firenze, 1992), 146-51, no. 44. Dominican texts for the celebration of the feast of the Annunciation tied it to the Advent liturgy; see Hood, *Fra Angelico*, 269.

<sup>32</sup> P. Hendy, *European and American Paintings in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum* (Boston, 1974), 6-8.

<sup>33</sup> G. P. Carosi, *I monasteri di Subiaco* (Subiaco, 1987), 127-45. Carosi cites part of the copious literature on Torquemada and the introduction of printing to Italy. See also *Lo statuto di Subiaco del Card. Giovanni Torquemada (1456)*, ed. F. Caraffa (Roma, 1981).

of Bernard of Clairvaux. Another illustration shows Torquemada himself kneeling before Pope Saint Sixtus, whose shrine had been his first titular church—as it would be Cajetan's—and who had featured, as has been mentioned above, in Nicholas V's chapel, as the bishop of Rome who ordained Saint Lawrence a deacon.<sup>34</sup>

After Torquemada's death, the Minerva continued to be a cultural center, where the New Learning might meet the Old. In the reign of Nicholas V, possibly at the pope's insistence, the feast of Thomas Aquinas (March 15) became a regular occasion for such encounters. Each year, in conjunction with a mass dignified by the obligatory recital of the Nicene Creed, an oration was delivered in praise of the Angelic Doctor.<sup>35</sup> The rhetorical art, even including images from the pagan classics, was called upon to praise a master of dialectic. Even Lorenzo Valla could not resist an invitation to speak; but his oration was ill designed to please most of the friars, since it praised the life of the saint but condemned his Latin style.<sup>36</sup> More typical of these orations must have been that delivered by Antonio Campano, who described the angelic doctor as a champion not just of orthodoxy but of the papacy, especially in his refutation of the errors of the Greeks.<sup>37</sup>

More truly Thomist than these orations were the works of Thomas de Vio, Cajetan, who became master general of the order and then a cardinal. Cajetan was not among the principal patrons of the arts at the Minerva, but he represented the best of his order's intellectual tradition. As a theologian, he composed the most influential

<sup>34</sup> Juan de Torquemada, *Meditationes*, ed. H. Zirnbauer (Wiesbaden, 1968), "Saint Sixtus," where the text asks the saint's aid in the struggle. For a discussion of the papacy, illuminating a picture of Christ giving the keys to Peter, see *ibid.*, "Consignment of the Keys." See also Orlandi, *Beato Angelico*, 143, fig. 29; Hood, *Fra Angelico*, 227–28.

<sup>35</sup> This observance elevated Saint Thomas' feast to a place of greater prominence even in the Dominican liturgical year; see Hood, *Fra Angelico*, 220–21.

<sup>36</sup> Lorenzo Valla, "In Praise of Saint Thomas Aquinas," in *Renaissance Philosophy: New Translations*, ed. L. A. Kennedy (The Hague, 1973), 13–27; J. W. O'Malley, "Some Renaissance Panegyrics of Aquinas," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 37 (1974), 174–92; *idem*, "The Feast of Thomas Aquinas in Renaissance Rome: A Neglected Document and Its Import," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 35 (1981), 1–27; H. Gray, "Valla's *Encomium of St. Thomas* and the Humanist Conception of Christian Antiquity," in *Essays in History and Literature Presented by Fellows of the Newberry Library to Stanley Pargellis*, ed. H. Bluhm (Chicago, 1965), 37–51.

<sup>37</sup> *Iohannis Anthonii Campani Episcopi Interamniensis in festo sancti Thome de Aquino oratio*, in *Ioannis Anthonii Campani opera omnia* (Roma, 1495; Farnborough, 1969) [unpaginated]; O'Malley, "Some Renaissance Panegyrics," 182.

commentary on Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, offered opinions on practical questions (including marriages and investments), and defended belief in the immortality of the soul.<sup>38</sup> Cajetan defended papal supremacy against the conciliarist theories of Julius II's foes at the time of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517). Although Cajetan could speak of the Church as the new Jerusalem in his oration to the second session of the council, neither that text nor his tracts on papal power from this period display the richness of figurative language found in the best passages of Torquemada's work, with their comparisons of the pope to Moses and other worthies.<sup>39</sup> Although Cajetan wrestled unsuccessfully with the new ideas of Martin Luther, he was able to respond in moderate tones, whether writing about the most technical points of theology or in defense of the papacy. Nor was he indifferent to the challenges of the New World, supporting the labors of Dominicans in the Indies, or to those of the New Learning, setting out in old age to explicate the Old Testament through the study of its Hebrew text.<sup>40</sup> Cajetan was at home in Renaissance Rome exactly because the Thomist emphases on the goodness of creation and on the right order of things matched the particular genius of that time and place.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Cajetan, "On the Immortality of the Soul," in *Renaissance Philosophy: New Translations*, 41–54; R. de Roover, "Cardinal Cajetan on *cambium* or Exchange Dealings," in *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. E. P. Mahoney (New York, 1976), 423–33; G. B. Skelly, "Cardinal Cajetan," in *Le « divorce » du roi Henry VIII: Études et documents*, ed. G. Bedouelle and P. le Gal (Genève, 1987), 205–28.

<sup>39</sup> Cajetan, *Oratio . . . habita in secunda sessione concilii Lateranensis . . .*, in *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 32:719–27; idem, *De comparatione auctoritatis papae et concilii cum apologia eiusdem tractatus*, ed. V. Pollet (Roma, 1936), 114, mentioning Dathan and Abiram. Cajetan also preached in Rome in a classical style; see J. W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521* (Durham, North Carolina, 1979), 52, 246–47.

<sup>40</sup> *Cajetan Responds: A Reader in Reformation Controversy*, trans. J. Wicks (Washington, D. C., 1978), 3–42; Thomas de Vio (Caietanus), *De divina institutione summi pontificis (1521)*, ed. F. Lauchert (Münster, 1925); H. R. Parish and H. E. Weidman, *Las Casas en Mexico* (Mexico City, 1992), 96 n. 40B; Bartolomé de las Casas, "Tratado de las doce dudas," in *Obras escogidas de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas*, vol. 5: *Opúsculos, cartas y memoriales*, ed. J. Pérez de Tudela Bueso (Madrid, 1958), 478–536 (490), citing Cajetan as the best modern authority on the types of infidels; and A. Bodem, *Das Wesen der Kirche nach Kardinal Cajetan* (Trier, 1971).

<sup>41</sup> Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 140–55. For a broader survey of Thomism in Renaissance Italy, see P. O. Kristeller, "Thomism and the Italian Thought of the Renaissance," in *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning: Three Essays by Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. and trans. E. P. Mahoney (Durham, North Carolina, 1974), 29–91.

Saint Thomas himself also found a splendid place in the artistic heritage of the Minerva in a chapel which might be understood as a rejoinder to Valla's *encomium*. Oliviero Carafa, a Neapolitan cardinal and advocate of reform, was one of the most powerful cardinal protectors of the Dominican order and a patron of the guild of the Annunciation. His influence over the Friars Preachers extended to the elevation of new generals of the order, including Cajetan himself; and his consent to the execution of Savonarola, the powerful Dominican prophet of sanctified civic life, was sought. The cardinal also had promoted both Cajetan's work of commenting the Angelic Doctor's *Summa* and the continued celebration at the Minerva of the saint's feast with special services attended by the Roman curia. During the period 1488–1493, Cardinal Carafa had this chapel prepared for this celebration and for use by his family. Therein Filippino Lippi painted scenes from the life of the Angelic Doctor, one of whose themes, "Averroism," which argued against the immortality of the soul, was an issue familiar to Cajetan. The theme was not new in the iconography of the Order of Preachers, but Lippi gave it his own stamp. On the western wall Thomas Aquinas sits in his magisterial chair, teaching the truth, while Averroes lies before his feet in tears. Here was a brilliant rendering of the Dominican self image, from Dominic, through Torquemada to Cajetan, that of the refutation of error through the imparting of sound doctrine. Above the altar there is another picture worth noting here, one of Cardinal Carafa being presented to the Virgin.<sup>42</sup>

Nor was this the only link between the Dominicans of the Minerva and the arts, especially the new styles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Roman Renaissance owes many of its monuments, as

<sup>42</sup> G. L. Geiger, "Filippino Lippi's *Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas*," in *Rome in the Renaissance, the City and the Myth: Papers of the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, ed. P. A. Ramsey (Binghamton, New York, 1982), 223–36; idem, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel: Renaissance Art in Rome* (Kirksville, Missouri, 1986); R. Baldwin, "Triumph and the Rhetoric of Power in Italian Renaissance Art," *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 19 (1990), 7–13. On Carafa's churchmanship, see R. de Maio, *Savonarola e la curia romana* (Roma, 1969); Diana Norman, "In Imitation of Saint Thomas: Art, Patronage and Liturgy with a Renaissance Chapel," *Renaissance Studies: Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, 7 (1993), 1–42. For his Carafa's relationship with Bramante and Raphael, see idem, "Savonarola, Oliviero Carafa, Tommaso de Vio e la disputa di Raffaello," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 38 (1968): 149–64. For the chapel as an answer to Valla, see S. Camporeale, "Lorenzo Valla tra medioevo e rinascimento: Encomion s. Thomae—1457," *Memorie domenicane*, n.s. 7 (1976), 11–194.

well as many of its scandals, to two families, the Borgias and the della Rovere. It was the latter family which provided a conduit for Dominican thought, in fact Dominican papalism, to some of the most important artistic monuments of the age. This was due to the theological education of the man who brought that obscure Ligurian clan and its Riario kin to the Eternal City. Francesco della Rovere, a Franciscan, became a cardinal and then reigned as Pope Sixtus IV. It was Sixtus who founded the Vatican Library formally; a painting shows the pope presenting the bull of foundation to Platina, the new foundation's first librarian, while the papal nephews, including Giuliano della Rovere, observe.<sup>43</sup> Sixtus, however, also involved the papacy in the Pazzi conspiracy against the Medici regime in Florence.<sup>44</sup> The della Rovere pope also was a patron of the arts, who memorialized himself with a fine tomb, whose influence on later construction has been noted,<sup>45</sup> and with the chapel which bears his name. The Sistine Chapel in the Vatican Palace, in its earliest phase, was ornamented by a team of artists, including Botticelli, with parallel scenes from the life of Moses and the life of Christ.<sup>46</sup>

Leopold Ettlinger was the first to point out the connection between the Moses cycle and Torquemada's papalist polemic. When Sixtus died, a copy of the Dominican theologian's *Summa de ecclesia* was found in his chamber. Torquemada's text, Ettlinger argued, was among those papalist texts which provided the specific inspiration

<sup>43</sup> J. Bignami-Odier and J. Ruyschaert, *La bibliothèque vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI: Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits* (Città del Vaticano, 1973), 9–11, 20–25 in which Melzzo da Forlì's fresco is produced as the frontispiece. For a demonstration that Sixtus refurbished and added to Nicholas V's library, see L. Boyle, "Sixtus IV and the Vatican Library," in *Rome, Tradition, Innovation and Renewal: A Canadian International Art Conference, 8–13 June 1987, Rome, in Honour of Richard Krautheimer on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday and Leonard Boyle O.P., Prefect of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Victoria, 1987), 65–73.

<sup>44</sup> H. Acton, *The Pazzi Conspiracy: The Plot Against the Medici* (London, 1979), 23–58, 98–113.

<sup>45</sup> C. de Tolnay, *The Tomb of Julius II* (Princeton, 1970), 11, 28–29, figs. 222 and 224.

<sup>46</sup> L. D. Ettlinger, *The Sistine Chapel Before Michelangelo: Religious Imagery and Papal Primacy* (Oxford, 1965), esp. 57–75. See also C. F. Lewine, "Botticelli's Punishment of Korah and the *sede vacante*," *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 9 (1990), 14–18; R. Salvini, "The Sistine Chapel: Ideology and Architecture," *Art History* 3 (1980): 144–57. Ettlinger's approach has been questioned in H. W. Pfeiffer, "Gemalte Theologie in der Sixtinischen Kapelle, Teil I," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 28 (1990), 99–159. For the larger liturgical context of Botticelli's fresco, see C. F. Lewine, *The Sistine Chapel and the Roman Liturgy* (State College, Pennsylvania, 1993), 9, 75–78.

for the inclusion of the destruction of Dathan, Abiram, and Korah, not a usual theme in illustrations of the life of Moses, in the Sistine decorations. Sixtus, although he struggled only briefly with the great enemy of Christendom, the Turk, was troubled by an attempt to convoke a new council at Basel and by upheavals in Italy. Thus he could depict on the walls of his chapel Moses, a type of the pope, destroying his foes.<sup>47</sup> Political inspiration for the contents of works of art produced for the papal court was nothing new. One need only mention once more Filarete's doors for the Vatican basilica, which depicted Eugenius IV's greatest triumph, the Council of Florence.<sup>48</sup> Nor, as also has been noted, was an interest in Moses unusual to the papalist writers. Even the humanists dependent on the curia evinced a concern with Moses as priest, king and lawgiver. One, Lilio Tifernate, translated works of Philo Judaeus, a project in which both Nicholas V and Bessarion were interested, continuing his labors through the decades until they came to fruition in his time of Sixtus IV. These texts too helped shape the frescoes of the Sistine Moses cycle.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Ettlinger, *Sistine Chapel*, 111 n. 4. The fates of Dathan, Abiram and Korah are cited in Juan de Torquemada, *Summa de ecclesia*, fol. 358v. (bk. IV, pt. i, chap. i). See also Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 201–21, citing other relevant texts from Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Petrus de Monte, and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. Piccolomini, for example, cited both the fates of Dathan and Abiram and Bernard's passage concerning Moses and other Biblical types of the pope in his apologetic letter to the University of Cologne, see *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, ed. R. Wolkan, vol. 2 (Wien, 1909), 54–65 (58, 63). Petrus de Monte called the Council of Basel "congregatio Dathan et Abiron"; see *Piero da Monte, ein Gelehrter und päpstliche Beamter des 15. Jahrhunderts: Seine Briefsammlung*, ed. J. Haller (Roma, 1941), 254; Gabriel Biel also referred to the Dathan and Abiram, see *Defensorium obedientiae apostolicae*, 108. During Sixtus IV's reign, Henricus Institoris used the fates of these dissidents to threaten Archbishop Zamometic, who attempted to gather a new Council of Basel; see Lewine, *Sistine Chapel Walls*, 79. Ironically, the Council of Basel had preceded the papalists of the Fifteenth Century in use of this motif with a decree of session 8 (1432) threatening any who sought to undermine the one council with the fate of those schismatics; see *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. N. P. Tanner (London, 1990), 1:465–66. Even later, Johann Grünwalder, in his attack on German neutrality, uttered the same threat; see *Historisches Archiv Stadt Köln W 4° 218*, fols. 163r.–190r. (181v., 190r.).

<sup>48</sup> See above n. 10.

<sup>49</sup> C. L. Stinger, "Greek Patristics and Christian Antiquity in Renaissance Rome," in *Rome in the Renaissance*, 153–69, esp. 160. The type of Moses was not used exclusively by the papalists; see A. Brown, "Savonarola, Machiavelli and Moses: A Changing Model," in *Florence and Italy: Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein*, ed. P. Denley and C. Elam (London, 1988), 57–72.

After the death of Sixtus IV in 1484, the fortunes of the della Rovere rested with Cardinal Giuliano, who would outlive three more popes, Innocent VIII, Alexander VI and Pius III, succeeding at last to the see of Peter in 1503. As Julius II, the "terrible pope," Giuliano would project great works both of politics and of patronage. Much of his intensive effort would go awry, leaving him with a reputation for ferocity recorded in the *Julius exclusus* of Erasmus.<sup>50</sup> Nonetheless, the artistic monuments of the reign included an effort to replace the Constantinian basilica of San Pietro in Vaticano with a grand new structure and the Michelangelo frescoes on the Sistine ceiling. The latter project is an example of the continuity of artistic efforts between uncle and nephew, the latter completing the former's projects and imitating his monuments. Nowhere is this more clear than in the several projects for Julius' tomb. The original design was intended to portray the virtues, which already had been included in Antonio Pollajuolo's tomb for Sixtus IV.<sup>51</sup> In the earliest design, the second story of Julius' tomb also was to display matching statues of Moses and St. Paul. These were to demonstrate the unity of the faith, based on the Old Law and the New. They also borrow for the nephew's monument one of the favorite themes of the uncle's pontificate, Moses as type of the pope. It is no mere accident that Michelangelo employed both the pope's features and his own in the *Moses*, the centerpiece of the completed—and much more modest—monument.<sup>52</sup> But this personalization of power rests on a larger papal typology known to Sixtus through both Tifernate and Torquemada, a typology at least as old as Bernard of Clairvaux.

Thus we come full circle from Moses as evoked by Bernard to Moses as sculpted by Michelangelo. This circle encompasses the New Learning and the Old, as well as the new styles in art and the new art of typography. In all cases, even that of the audacious Lorenzo Valla, criticizing the Latin and the dialectic of Thomas Aquinas, the circle encompasses acquiescence to the established, hierarchic order, whose culmination on earth, according to Torquemada and Cajetan, was the Roman pontiff, supreme spiritual power on earth, indirect

<sup>50</sup> *The "Julius exclusus" of Erasmus*, trans. R. Pascal. (Bloomington, Indiana, 1968).

<sup>51</sup> The influence of Sixtus' tomb on Michelangelo is mentioned, without specific reference to Julius, in H. von Einem, *Michelangelo*, trans. R. Taylor (London, 1973), 41, 43, 75, 79.

<sup>52</sup> de Tolnay, *Tomb of Julius II*, 13, 24, 39–42; von Einem, *Michelangelo*, 75–91.



director of the princes of Christendom, and, through much of the Renaissance, supreme patron of the arts. Nor did the motif of the pope as Moses disappear with the beginning of the Reformation. In one of his bulls, Pope Adrian VI threatened those who had departed the Roman fold with the fate of Dathan, Abiram, and Korah.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> D. V. N. Bagchi, *Luther's Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518-1525* (Minneapolis, 1991), 227. The Franciscan polemicist Augustinus von Alveld also threatened Luther and his followers with this fate; see *ibid.*, 180.

## APPENDIX

### A NEW LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE LIBRARY OF JUAN DE TORQUEMADA, O.P.<sup>54</sup>

MANUSCRIPT	PRINCIPAL AUTHORS
Vat. lat. 748	Thomas Aquinas
Vat. lat. 1019	Bernardus de Rossergio
Vat. lat. 1130	Alvarus Pelagius
Vat. lat. 1440	Innocentius IV
Vat. lat. 2016	Matteo Palmieri
Vat. lat. 2324	Bartholomaeus de Sancto Concordio, Alvarus Pelagius
Vat. lat. 2675	Iohannes Petri de Ferrariis
Vat. lat. 2698	Martinus Polonus
Vat. lat. 4109	Augustinus Triumphus, Guillelmus Petri de Godino <sup>55</sup>
Vat. lat. 4117	Andreas Escobar
Vat. lat. 4134	Iohannes de Carvajal, Iohannes Gerson, Petrus de Monte
Vat. lat. 4206	Thomas Aquinas, Cyprianus
Vat. lat. 5609	Concilium Basiliense
Vat. Barb. lat. 437	Mauritius Pruviniensis
Vat. Barb. lat. 715	Henricus de Langenstein
Vat. Barb. lat. 729	Rolandus Cremonensis
Vat. Barb. lat. 869	Durandus de Sancto Porciano
Vat. Barb. lat. 1445	Guillelmus de Monte Lauduno
University of California, Berkeley, Boalt Hall, Robbins 68	Hostiensis
Cambridge, A. N. L. Munby*	Basil of Caesarea <sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> This list excludes the cardinal's copies of his own works; it does pay greater attention, however, than did the author's previous article to those manuscripts remaining at the Minerva; see Barbalarga, "Centri di aggregazione," 603-5; P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* (London, 1963-1992), 2:560. An asterisk indicates a manuscript not personally examined.

<sup>55</sup> This manuscript is described, without attribution of ownership, in *The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Fourteenth Century: Guillaume de Pierre Godin*, ed. W. D. McCready, (Toronto, 1982), 59-60.

<sup>56</sup> For an entry for "The estate of the late Mr. A. N. L. Munby," see Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 4:12.

Harvard University,

Sumner 70\*

Madrid, BN 7126\*

Roma, Minerva K1\*

Roma, Minerva K2\*

Roma, Minerva K6\*

Roma, Minerva *sine segno*\*

Horace

Leo I

Iacobus de Voragine

Albertus Magnus

Petrus de Unzola

Thomas Aquinas<sup>57</sup>

The exemplar of Vat. lat. 4905 was corrected by Torquemada (see fol. 233r.) and may have belonged to his library.

Vat. lat. 1057, containing a tract by Dominicus de Dominicis, may have belonged to Torquemada.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Barbalunga, "Centri di aggregazione," 604.

<sup>58</sup> C. Villa, "Brixiensia," *Italian medioevale e umanistica*, 20 (1977), 243-75 (258 n. 1).

## THE ORIGINS OF HOSPITALLERISM IN MEDIEVAL CATALONIA

*James W. Brodman*

The crisis in medical care confronting the modern welfare state and its aging population has caused historians of recent years to begin the study of how earlier societies have coped with the problems of indigence, illness and old age. In the context of the Middle Ages, this has led to an inquiry into what now appears to have been a welter of caritative institutions that by the thirteenth century were functioning throughout western Europe. My own awareness of this phenomenon grew out of a decade-long study of the Mercedarian Order, in origin a laic confraternity established to redeem Christian captives along the Hispanic frontier with Islam.<sup>1</sup> An examination of the genesis and configuration of this religious order convinced me that it formed a part of no generally accepted ecclesiastical category, for example, the mendicant or religious military orders, but was instead a manifestation of a caritative spirit that other historians were also beginning to locate in numerous hospitaller and confraternal groupings. To date this research, despite its now considerable extent, has failed to produce any work of synthesis. The concepts "caritative spirituality" or "medieval hospitallerism" are still far from being included in survey accounts of the era. Yet the appearance of numerous individual studies of lay confraternities, hospitaller communities and religious orders and of a few regional surveys of charitable activity have laid the basis for some tentative generalization. My purpose here is to review the scholarship that centers on medieval Catalonia with the intent of drawing some preliminary conclusions as to the genesis of this medieval concern for the infirm, the old and the needy.

The study of hospitals in the Middle Ages is closely associated with the subjects of charity and poverty since the purpose of most institutions bearing the name of hospital was the relief of a group labeled the "poor of Christ." This was a diverse group that included,

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<sup>1</sup> See my *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain: The Order of Merced on the Christian-Islamic Frontier* (Philadelphia, 1986).

among others, beggars, vagabonds, indigent neighbors and the working poor, orphans and abandoned children, lepers and the victims of disfiguring disease, unmarried maidens and women of the street, the sick and the old, and victims of unusual calamities such as captivity. Perhaps the first commentator to note medieval society's new interest in these unfortunates was a contemporary, Jacques de Vitry. This one-time canon of Oignies, friend of Peter the Chanter, and future bishop of Acre devoted chapter twenty-nine of his *Historia occidentalis* to the establishment of hospitals and of hospitaller orders and confraternities in early thirteenth-century Europe.<sup>2</sup> More recently, a group of European historians, led by Michel Mollat, have addressed this phenomenon. Perhaps the clearest overview of the problem is contained in Mollat's study of medieval poverty, which devotes chapter eight to institutions of charity.<sup>3</sup> In addition to Mollat's work, which centers on France and Italy, there have been several regional studies of charity and poor relief. Miri Rubin has published a comprehensive study of charity and hospitals in medieval Cambridge.<sup>4</sup> Bracketing the subject area of this paper, Catalonia, are a series of monographs and essays published within the past decade concerning hospitals, confraternities and hospitaller orders active in the towns and region of southern France, and, farther afield, in Italy.<sup>5</sup> To the south, Robert I. Burns, in the first of his studies of medieval Valencia, has described the development of thirteenth-century foundations, and

<sup>2</sup> *The historia occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition*, ed. J.F. Hinnebusch, O.P. (Fribourg, 1972), 146–51.

<sup>3</sup> See his *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An essay in Social History*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven, 1986), 135–57, which was originally published as *Les pauvres au moyen âge* (Paris, 1978). See also *Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté*, ed. Michel Mollat, 2 vols. (Paris, 1974).

<sup>4</sup> See her *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987). There are two general surveys of hospitals in medieval England: Rotha Mary Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (London, 1909); and Elizabeth Prescott, *The English Medieval Hospital* (London, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> See John H. Mundy, "Charity and Social Work in Toulouse, 1100–1250," *Traditio*, 22 (1966), 203–87; Jacqueline Caille, *Hôpitaux et charité publique à Narbonne au moyen âge de la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Toulouse, 1978); Jean Pourrière, *Les Hôpitaux d'Aix-en-Provence au moyen âge: XIII<sup>e</sup>, XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Aix-en-Provence, 1969); and *Assistance et charité*, ed. Marie-Humbert Vicaire, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 13 (Toulouse, 1978). For Italy, see *La carità a Milano nei secoli XII–XV: Atti del Convegno di Studi di Milano, 6–7 novembre 1987*, ed. Maria Pia Alberzoni and Ororato Grassi (Milan, 1989); Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410–1536* (Ann Arbor, 1990); Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State to 1620* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); and Carlo Marchesani, *Ospedali genovesi nel Medioevo* (Genoa, 1981).

more recently Agustín Rubio Vela has carried this endeavor down into the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The first concerted effort to study hospitals in medieval Catalonia itself formed a part of a larger conference held in Lisbon in 1972 devoted to the study of charity throughout the entire Iberian peninsula. Michel Mollat's influence here is evident from his selection as its keynote speaker.<sup>7</sup> A few of the participants at this meeting, led by Manuel Riu and joined by others, collaborated in a later collection of studies devoted specifically to Catalonia. This has subsequently been amplified by the publication of a number of town histories, most notably those of Carme Batlle for Urgel and Christian Guilleré for Girona.<sup>8</sup>

Every historian who has addressed the phenomenon of medieval charity has marveled at the number of hospitals and charitable associations that were established during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and also despaired of ever compiling an accurate accounting. None the less, based on a partial sampling of these medieval hospitals, a model that serves to explain this caritative development has begun to emerge. It begins against a background of monastic hospitality dating back through the early Middle Ages. While this assistance, according to Mollat, did not decrease in the twelfth and thirteenth century, monastic charity lost its monopoly. Mollat in particular cites the hard times which occurred between 1194 and 1199 and overtaxed older charitable sources. This phenomenon led to a rise of vagabondage and to a rural exodus to the towns.<sup>9</sup> Mollat argues, further, that the dawn of the thirteenth century saw a new under-

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<sup>6</sup> See Robert I. Burns, S.J., *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 1:237-52, 282-300; idem, "Los hospitales del reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII," *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 2 (1965), 135-54; and Agustín Rubio Vela, *Pobreza, enfermedad y asistencia hospitalaria en la Valencia del siglo XIV* (Valencia, 1984).

<sup>7</sup> The proceedings of this conference were published as *A pobreza e a assistência aos pobres na península ibérica durante a idade média: Actas das 1.ªs jornadas Luso-Espanholas de história medieval*, Lisboa, 25-30 de Setembro de 1272 (Lisbon, 1973).

<sup>8</sup> *La pobreza y la asistencia a los pobres en la Cataluña medieval*, ed. Manuel Riu, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1980-82); Carme Batlle Gallart, *La Seu d'Urgell medieval: La ciutat i els seus habitants* (Barcelona, 1985); idem, "Les institucions benèfiques de la Seu d'Urgell durant l'Edat Mitjana: segles XI-XV," *Urgellia*, 6 (1983), 285-334; Christian Guilleré, *Girona medieval. L'etapa d'apogeu, 1285-1360*, Quaderns d'història de Girona (Girona, 1991); idem, "Le milieu médical Géronais au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Actes du 110<sup>e</sup> Congrès national des Sociétés savantes*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1987), 1:263-81.

<sup>9</sup> Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*, 87; and idem, "Hospitalité et assistance au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Poverty in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Flood (Werl, 1975), 44-45.

standing in the meaning of poverty. Prior to the mid-eleventh century, poverty in a society where everyone was poor was not recognized as a particular social problem.<sup>10</sup> Gradually, with the social displacements within an otherwise prosperous twelfth century, we see emerge a group of needy referred to generically as the "poor of Christ," leading the early Hospitallers of St. John, for example, to see themselves as servants of the poor of Christ. These poor, furthermore, began to be served by hospices, almonries and eventually hospitals of confraternal, canonical or episcopal provenance. By the end of the twelfth century, hospitals began to serve particular constituencies of the poor, for example, the sick, the old, or the orphaned. At the same time, theologians and others realized that poverty was a burden, not in itself a means of salvation, and that every social group—clerical, religious, laic—could be caught within its clutches. The poor man had a right in justice and charity to assistance; charity ceased to be a gratuitous gift and became instead a type of moral restitution.<sup>11</sup> This greater specialization in charitable relief thus led, toward the year 1200, to the establishment of confraternities, religious orders, maisons-Dieu and hospitals targeted to the service of captives, the sick, travelers, and the working poor. These coexisted alongside older institutions that continued to feed, shelter, and assist the generic needy. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the focus of new charities seems to have moved into the neighborhood and parish, and, for the first time, municipalities, in contrast to purely ecclesiastical institutions, appear to have accepted responsibility for the establishment, regulation, and governance of local hospitals and alms houses. Miri Rubin, in her study of Cambridge, concludes in fact that there were no new religious foundations in that city after 1300, an observation confirmed by Agustín Rubio Vela in Valencia, and by studies of the village hospitals of the Biterrois, a coastal region near Narbonne, and of the hospitals of medieval Avignon.<sup>12</sup> The prevailing model thus developed for regions outside of Catalonia outlines a progression from monastic charity, to

<sup>10</sup> Carmen Batlle, "La ayuda a los pobres en la parroquia de San Justo de Barcelona," in *A pobreza e a assistência*, 1:59.

<sup>11</sup> Mollat, "Hospitalité et assistance," 48–50.

<sup>12</sup> Rubin, *Charity in Cambridge*, 146; Rubio Vela, *Pobreza en la Valencia*, 33; Monique Gramin, "Les institutions charitables dans les villages du Biterrois aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," in *Assistance et charité*, 123; Jacques Chiffolleau, "Charité et assistance en Avignon et dans le Comtat Venaissin (fin XIII<sup>e</sup>–fin XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)," *ibid.*, 63.

episcopal and canonical alms in the twelfth century, to more specialized forms of assistance organized in the thirteenth under the auspices of various ecclesiastical and religious associations, to the development in the fourteenth century of neighborhood, parochial and municipal charity.

To what degree does this model apply to Catalonia? The first hospitaller institutions in the principality, despite earlier and apparently legendary foundations of the ninth and tenth centuries, seem to date from the eleventh century.<sup>13</sup> Some of these were of an internal nature, that is, were directed toward the assistance of an association's own membership; others were presumably external in their service to an outside clientele. In the latter category are the almonries or hospices intended for the alimentation and clothing of the poor and perhaps even for their shelter, although this is difficult to discern since the medieval term for hospital disguised various functions.<sup>14</sup> Most of these were of episcopal foundation and at times connected with the establishment or reform of a cathedral chapter under the Rule of St. Augustine. At Barcelona, for example, there was in the eleventh century a Hospital of the See located next to the cathedral, which in the twelfth century served the indigent sick. Carme Batlle suggests that its foundation may be associated with the gift in 938 of land on Montjuich to the sacristan of the cathedral. Manuel Riu cites Bishop Deodat's gift to a hospital of the poor in 1024; Pierre Bonnassie lists legacies given to the hospital of Barcelona between 995 and 1092; Josep Baucells asserts a foundation in 1023 and notes its reconstruction in 1090. A second hospital, that of En Guitart, which was subsequently merged into the cathedral institution, was functioning according to Riu in 1045; according to Batlle, it appeared only later in the century.<sup>15</sup> In other Catalan towns, hospitals for the poor, associ-

<sup>13</sup> For example, Guitard, viscount of Barcelona, was said to have founded the Hospital of en Guitard in the late 10th century; and the leprosarium of Sant Llàtzer founded in the 9th century by an otherwise unknown bishop of Barcelona named Guillermo: Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975-76), 1:172; Aurora Pérez Santamaría, "El Hospital de San Lázaro o Casa dels Malalts o Masells," in *La pobresa en la Catalunya*, 1:78.

<sup>14</sup> Timothy Miller, for example, notes the failure of the west to coin a term like the Byzantine *nosokomeion* to distinguish institutions that provided medical care from those that offered poor relief: see his "The Knights of Saint John and the Hospitals of the Latin West," *Speculum*, 53 (1978), 710.

<sup>15</sup> Manuel Riu, "Presentacion," in *La pobresa en la Catalunya*, 1:10; Josep Baucells, "Gènesi de la Pia Almoina de la Seu de Barcelona: els fundadors," *ibid.*, 1:19-22;



ated with the cathedral, existed by 1048 in Vic, by 1045 or 1059 in Urgel, and by 1093 in Girona.<sup>16</sup> A similar development has been noted in neighboring Aragon, at Jaca (1076–79) and Roda (1092), in the town of León (1084), and north of the Pyrenees in Toulouse (1075–78).<sup>17</sup> Evidence for non-ecclesiastical foundations is scarce, but Riu cites the will of Arsendis, who in 1068 instructed her husband, Arnau Mir de Tost, to construct hospitals at Tost, Montmagastre, Artesa and Algar for the purpose of providing beds, clothing, food and drink for the infirm poor.<sup>18</sup> Confraternal charity of this era appears to have been mostly internal. There is, for example, the Confraternity of Ivorra, whose constitutions were approved in 1011 by Bishop Ermengol of Urgel. Established as a part of an effort to provide for mutual security in the frontier zone of Guissona that the bishop was colonizing, this essentially parochial organization cared for sick peasants and buried their indigent. Spiritual sustenance was the objective of other confraternities established by bishops of Urgel at Portella in 1035 and at Lillet in 1100.<sup>19</sup>

In the twelfth century, there is a marked increase in the number of new caritative institutions, and at the same time their organization becomes more diverse and their missions more focused. Episcopal and capitular hospitals and alms funds, typically the first organized instances of urban charity, were founded or augmented in Barcelona (1161 ff.), Lleida (1168), Girona (twelfth century), Tortosa (1153) and Tarragona (late twelfth century).<sup>20</sup> The alms funds, which provided regular distributions of food to the needy, were seemingly

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Carme Battle and Montserrat Casas, "La caritat privada i les institucions benèfiques de Barcelona (segle XIII)," *ibid.*, 1:121–22; Josep Baucells i Reig, "La Pia Almoïna de la Seo de Barcelona: origen y desarrollo," in *A pobresa e a assistència*, 1:85; Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 2:955.

<sup>16</sup> Riu, "Presentacion," 10; Jorge Boix Pociello, "La « Confraternitat de Nostra Senyora d'Ivorra »: estudio de una cofradía de comienzos del siglo XI, en el obispado de Urgel," in *La pobreza en la Cataluña*, 2:22; Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 2:955.

<sup>17</sup> J. Boix Pociello, "Les persones pobres e miserables a la Ribagorça medieval," *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 5–6 (1984–85), 194–9; Jose Sanchez Herrero, "Cofradías, hospitales y beneficencia en algunas diócesis del Valle del Duero, siglos XIV y XV," *Hispania*, 34 (1974), 34; Mundy, "Charity in Toulouse," 211.

<sup>18</sup> Riu, "Presentacion," 1:11.

<sup>19</sup> Boix Pociello, "Ivora," 2:13–33.

<sup>20</sup> Riu, "Presentacion," 1:11; Baucells, "Gènesi de Pia Almoïna," 1:24; Christian Guilleré, "Assistance et charité à Gerone au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *La pobreza en la Cataluña*, 1:196; Prim Bertran Roigé, "L'Almoïna de la Seu de Lleida a principis del segle XV," *ibid.*, 2:349; Joan-Albert Adell i Gisbert, "L'Hospital de Pobres de Santa Magdalena de Montblanc i l'arquitectura hospitalària medieval a Catalunya," *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 4 (1983), 240.

posterior to the small cathedral hospitals, presumably because the former required expensive endowment. Thus, that of Barcelona, where such food distributions occurred as early as 1009, was in actuality assembled slowly between 1161 and 1274 from at least seventeen separate bequests, many from the cathedral's own canons but also from a jurist, a handful of wealthy citizens, a bishop and a scholar. These collectively by 1274 provided for almost a thousand meals a year, to be offered the poor on the anniversary of the benefactor's death.<sup>21</sup> At Lleida, the bishop in 1168 established an alms fund, endowing it with tithes, first fruits and episcopal rents; the Almonry of Girona appears only in 1228 when Arnau Escala purchased from the chapter various tithes and rents for its endowment.<sup>22</sup>

The twelfth century also sees the establishment of hospitals that were more than almshouses. This new group was intended to serve a particular category of the poor. Perhaps the earliest of this genre were leprosaries, places of quarantine for those suspected of infection. Ubiquitous in France by the mid-thirteenth century, these first made their appearance in Catalonia in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>23</sup> At Barcelona, the Hospital of Sant Llätzer, or the Casa dels Masells (or Mesells) was probably established in the western suburbs of the city, near the present site of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, by Bishop Guillem Torroja (1144–71); its existence is confirmed by legacies dating from 1177.<sup>24</sup> That at Girona, Sant Jaume of Pedreto, was also located outside the walls.<sup>25</sup>

Besides hospitals and leprosaria of episcopal or capitular foundation, individual cathedral canons were also founders of new hospitals. Joan Colom, canon of Barcelona since 1194 and active as a jurist and perhaps as treasurer to Jaume I, in the last act recorded prior to his will, established in 1229 a hospital and chapel in the city's western suburbs, near the Hospitallers of Saint John. Initially

<sup>21</sup> Baucells, "Gènesi de la Pia Almoïna," 1:24–54.

<sup>22</sup> Josep Lladonosa i Pujol, *Història de la ciutat de Lleida* (Barcelona, 1980), 138. The Almoïna of Girona quickly received additional endowment in 1228 and 1245: Guilleré, "Gerone," 194–95.

<sup>23</sup> Some 74 new French foundations have been counted between 1175 and 1250, with a total approaching 340 during Louis IX's reign. There were leprosaria in the Midi at Aix, Marseilles, Avignon, Nîmes, Montpellier and Toulouse; see Michel Mollat, "Floraison des fondations hospitalières (XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)" in *Histoire des hôpitaux en France*, ed. Jean Imbert (Toulouse, 1982), 36–39.

<sup>24</sup> Pérez Santamaría, "Hospital de San Lazaro," 1:78–81.

<sup>25</sup> Guilleré, "Gerone," 1:196.

placed under the direction of the donor's kinsman, Berenguer de Planes, it was turned over to the bishop and united with the now defunct cathedral hospital. Another clerical foundation was funded by Pere Desvilar, rector of the church of Santa Eulàlia de Provençana. In his will of 1256, he established an institution in service of the poor, particularly aged and infirm sailors, that was to be located in what was becoming the hospitaller district in the western suburbs of Barcelona. Its government was placed under the direction of a capitular-appointed rector.<sup>26</sup>

Ecclesiastical patronage of hospitals during the twelfth century widened as a result of the entrance of hospitaller and military-hospitaller orders into Catalonia. One of the first such orders was that of the Hospitallers of Saint John, which, Timothy Miller argues, was responsible for the introduction into Europe of the medical hospital. Its hospitals were also among the first to be established in Arles, Aix-en-Provence and Marseilles; its appearance in Barcelona appears to date from the lands donated in 1131 by Count Ramon Berenguer IV for the support of the poor.<sup>27</sup> Also active in Barcelona were the Antonines. This hospitaller group was first established near Arles by Gaston of Dauphiné at the end of the eleventh century to assist the sufferers of skin disease, especially the victims of ergotism. Its Barcelona hospital dates from 1157, founded by Berenguer de Biancha, the order's commander of Cervera.<sup>28</sup> The Order of the Holy Spirit, established around 1180 by Guy of Montpellier, had a hospital for foundlings in Lleida in the mid-thirteenth century, and the Trinitarians, a hospitaller-ransoming order established in France during the famine years at the end of the twelfth century, operated hospitals in Lleida and Tortosa in the early thirteenth century. The Trinitarians were given charge of an orphanage on Majorca in 1270.<sup>29</sup> The only Catalan order to appear, although this was not strictly a hospitaller

<sup>26</sup> Batlle and Casas, "Caritat privada," 1:132-33.

<sup>27</sup> Miller, "Knights of Saint John," 718; Gérard Giordanengo, "Les hôpitaux arlésiens du XII<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Assistance et charité*, 193; Noël Coulet, "Hôpitaux et œuvres d'assistance dans le diocèse et la ville d'Aix-en-Provence, XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles," *ibid.*, 222; and Paul Armagier, "La situation hospitalière à Marseille," *ibid.*, 240.

<sup>28</sup> A. Lambert, "Diocèse de Barcelona," *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1938), 6:695; I. Ruffino, "Canonici regolari di Sant'Agostino di Sant'Antonio, di Vienne," *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione* (Rome, 1975), 2:135.

<sup>29</sup> Michèle Revel, "Le rayonnement à Rome et en Italie de l'ordre du Saint-Esprit de Montpellier," *Assistance et charité*, 343-55; Lladonosa i Pujol, *Lleida*, 142; Alvaro Santamaría, "La asistencia a los pobres en Mallorca en el bajomedievo," *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 13 (1983), 386; Enrique Bayerri y Bertoméu, *Historia de*

group despite the labeling of certain of its houses as hospitals, was the Order of Merced. Founded late in the 1220s, it established what were probably ransoming hospices in Barcelona, Lleida, and on Majorca during the 1230s.<sup>30</sup>

This era also sees the first appearance of laic foundations, although most of these were to be placed under some form of ecclesiastical supervision. Count Arnau of Roussillon, for example, established in 1116 a hospital at Perpignan for the poor at the Church of Sant Joan, and Pere Molinar in 1174 at Lleida established a hospital in Vilanova de Fontanet.<sup>31</sup> There is also the New Hospital of Girona, in existence in 1211, that was the work of a confraternity established in the church of Sant Martí and ruled by a lay commander with two or three consuls.<sup>32</sup> Another confraternal institution, established by the Confraternity of the Poor of Jesus Christ, appeared at Montblanc in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Better known is the foundation at Barcelona of Bernat Marcus, a wealthy and influential citizen, whose will of 1166 directed that his two sons establish a hospital, chapel and cemetery for pilgrims, indigent sick and abandoned children on the entry road into Barcelona from France. While initially well-endowed by Bernat, who himself was buried in its cemetery, the hospital seems to have been neglected by the founder's descendants and to have thus passed under episcopal jurisdiction.<sup>34</sup> A surviving member of the Confraternity of Santa Eulàlia del Camp of Barcelona, founded initially in 1156, purchased land in 1210 from the monastery of the same name for the construction of a hospital for the poor. In 1221 Berenguer de Canet, the founder, and his wife entered into a private confraternal contract with the monastery through which they transferred ultimate control of the hospital to the prior while retaining its administration for their lifetime. In 1237 the monastery in turn ceded jurisdiction to the bishop of Barcelona when the canons decided that they no longer wished to serve the hospital

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*Tortosa y su comarca*, 8 vols. (Tortosa, 1935–57), 7:535–37; Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó [hereafter ACA], Gran Priorat, Pergs., Armario 28, no. 264 (will of 1216 endowing Trinitarian hospital for service to the poor and infirm). For orphans in general, see John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York, 1988).

<sup>30</sup> Brodman, *Ransoming Captives*, 15–20.

<sup>31</sup> Lladonosa, *Lleida*, 153; Riu, "Presentacion," 1:11.

<sup>32</sup> Guilleré, "Gerone," 1:196.

<sup>33</sup> Adell i Gisbert, "Santa Magdalena de Montblanc," 239, 244.

<sup>34</sup> Battle and Casas, "Caritat privada," 1:137–38.

chapel.<sup>35</sup> Two hospitals of comital foundation appear at Palma on Majorca in 1230, the products not only of crusader largess but also of a serious plague that broke out on the island shortly after the conquest. One, under the invocation of Sant Andreu, was founded by Nunyo Sanç of Roussillon; the other, Santa Magdalena, was established by Pons Huc of Ampurias, perhaps as a memorial to his father, a victim of the plague.<sup>36</sup> At the end of the thirteenth century, Pere Desvilar, a citizen of Barcelona, established a hospital near the beach for the service of the poor. His will of 1311 left an endowment sufficient to feed twelve poor people, but four of these had to be his kinsmen. Control of the hospital typically remained private only until the death of the founder; the latter in 1308, and in marked contrast to the thirteenth-century tradition, offered its ultimate supervision to the municipal Council of 100.<sup>37</sup>

Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the initiative for new charitable foundations shifts away from ecclesiastical corporations, and to a degree even from wealthy individuals, to the parish level. Here individuals who had long supported, especially in their wills, the pious works of the church began to organize poor relief themselves to the benefit of their immediate neighbors, a group referred to in the contemporary texts as *pobres vergonyants*. Variouslly termed the working poor, or the ashamed (i.e., to beg) poor or the neighborhood poor, this group is differentiated from the totally destitute or from pilgrims, vagabonds or strangers. As early as 1248, charitable confraternities had appeared in Italy to assist these deserving poor; for example, in 1268 at Plaisance a small order, the *fratres verecundorum*, was established.<sup>38</sup> In Barcelona at the end of the thirteenth century their assistance became a parochial responsibility through the establishment of *plats* or *bacís* or *colectas dels pobres*. The earliest seems to have been established in the port parish of Santa Maria del Mar around 1275, and according to various estimates there were six to eight such foundations in parishes by the mid-fourteenth century.

<sup>35</sup> Batlle and Casas, "Caritat privada," 1:141-42; Paul Kehr, "La confraria de Santa Eulàlia del Camp," in *Miscelànea Mons. José Rius Serra*, 2 vols. (San Cugat del Valles, 1964-65), 1:56; Lluís G. Feliu, "L'hospital de Santa Eulàlia del Camp," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 11 (1935), 299-305.

<sup>36</sup> Santamaria, "La asistencia en Mallorca," 385.

<sup>37</sup> Batlle and Casas, "Caritat privada," 1:135.

<sup>38</sup> Giovanni Ricci, "Naissance du pauvre honteux: entre l'histoire des idées et l'histoire sociale," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 38 (1983), 168-69.

These were governed by a board of elected parishioners who solicited, collected and disbursed alms to priests, hospitals, religious houses, captives, as doweries for prostitutes and more innocent young ladies, to debtors, orphans, widows, the unemployed and seemingly whoever else in the neighborhood required assistance.<sup>39</sup> The custom noted around 1300 in Majorca of lumping small legacies for the poor into larger municipal alms funds might suggest this was also a source of funding for these parochial *bacís*.<sup>40</sup>

Catalan charity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries thus had a variety of forms, constituencies and patrons. The objects of charity, disguised in the documents by the general terms "poor" and "hospital," are difficult to discern, but we have noted an evolution in assistance from the undifferentiated destitute of the early twelfth century to the orphans, captives, old, and medically infirm of the thirteenth century. By the fourteenth century, the focus narrows even more to center upon the distressed of specific neighborhoods.

More directly discernible is the source of support for these works of charity. Small bequests made by moderately well-off individuals as expiation for past sins seem to have provided the long-term financing for hospitals. Carme Batlle and Montserrat Casas, for example, show in their study of thirteenth-century wills that some forty percent of these Barcelona residents left small gifts to the hospitals of the city.<sup>41</sup> Such generosity, however, was insufficient, at least until the beginning of the fourteenth century, to provide the initial endowment for charitable activities. During the twelfth century, this was for the most part the work of ecclesiastical corporations: the diocese, its bishop and/or chapter, or generally laic but still religious confraternities and orders. While their initiative was at least in part reflexive and responsive to the growing body of needy within their urban environment, it also seems to have grown out of the forces unleashed by the Gregorian reform movement and its emphasis upon the canonical life.<sup>42</sup> The motivations behind the foundations of lay

<sup>39</sup> Mollat, *Poor in the Middle Ages*, 141; Ana Magdalena Lorente, "El plato de los pobres vergonzantes de la parroquia de Santa María del Mar, en Barcelona," in *La pobreza en la Cataluña*, 2:153–55, 167.

<sup>40</sup> Santamaria, "Asistencia en Mallorca," 400.

<sup>41</sup> See their "Caritat privada," 1:161.

<sup>42</sup> On the association between canonical reform and the origin of charity, see Jean Leclercq, "Un témoignage sur l'influence de Grégoire VII dans la réforme canoniale," *Studi gregoriani*, 6 (1959–61), 173–227; Caroline Walker Bynun, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), 2–19; Jean

donors, apart from spiritual merit, are less clear. There is the case, for example, of Ramon de Plegamans, an intimate of Jaume I, who was responsible for three major benefactions: the initiation of the altar of Santa Margarita at Barcelona's leper hospital in 1218, the establishment of a ransoming hospice for the Mercedarians of Barcelona in 1234, and the endowment in support of a poor person of the cathedral's Pia Almoïna in 1240.<sup>43</sup> Unlike Berenguer de Canet, who, as we have seen, demanded in 1221 as the price for cession of his Hospital de Santa Eulàlia del Camp retention of its revenues and spiritual affiliation in the priory of Santa Eulàlia, Ramon made no demands for income or remembrance from the Mercedarians, the bishop, or the leprosarium. His will of 1240, furthermore, reveals no prior confraternal arrangements with these institutes; it instead bestows additional largess upon the Dominicans and Franciscans.<sup>44</sup> While the motives of such canonical benefactors as Joan Colom and Pere Desvilar can be inferred from their ecclesiastical office and their proximity to already established works of charity, those of Ramon de Plegamans, or of Bernat Marcus, are less clear and can thus be attributed to nothing more historically verifiable than piety and civic-mindedness.

Civic mindedness of a more selfish sort is apparent in the foundations of the early fourteenth century that were directed toward the needs of neighbors, as opposed to those of more anonymous strangers. Here also the importance of individual patrons is evident in the foundations of Pere Desvilar at Barcelona and of Bernat dez Clapers at Valencia, but the unwillingness of Desvilar's family to assume responsibility for his hospital made its survival dependent upon some sort of institutional patronage.<sup>45</sup> The late thirteenth-century concern of the church to limit the establishment of new religious associations, almost always laic in character, and a seeming disinterest on the part of bishops and chapters to accept additional responsibilities meant that new patronage had to be sought from either civic or parochial

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Becquet, "Chanoines réguliers et érémitisme clérical," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 48 (1972), 22, 36, 56; Giles Constable, "Renewal and Reform in the Religious Life: Concepts and Realities," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 55, 62.

<sup>43</sup> Baucells, "Gènesi de la Pia Almoïna," 1:34-35; Brodman, *Ransoming Captives*, 17-18; Pérez Santamaría, "Hospital de San Lazaro," 1:89.

<sup>44</sup> ACA, Pergs., Jaume I, no. 808 (July 28, 1240).

<sup>45</sup> For the latter, see Rubio Vela, *Pobreza en la Valencia*, 25-27.

sources. Here laymen, with their natural familiarity with current social needs, were still dominant.

Thus the initiative for charity, while clouded by the anonymity of small donors and the piety expressed by patrons, seems to rest upon two foundations. The idea that assistance to the needy was a religious imperative and redemptive in nature is pervasive; spiritual reward was the unspoken *quid pro quo* for much medieval benefaction. The essentially local character of charity, on the other hand, seen in the failure of society to spawn any caritative equivalent to the pan-European mendicant and military orders, also suggests a connection between assistance and the needs of particular communities, the existence of a practical civic-mindedness that was encouraged by religion but which by no means was entirely dependent upon it. The evolution in the forms of charity reflect this. New generations did more than replicate the benefactions of their fathers. Rather, in endowing new kinds of hospitals, they tended to direct their charity toward clienteles created by their own times. The result of these two centuries of caritative development was, therefore, a sometimes bewildering variety of hospitaller institutions as newer foundations were layered upon the older which continued to function. On the one hand, this provides us with one historical cross section of social change and development during the High Middle Ages. On the other, it demonstrates how a developing society utilized the increasingly sophisticated organization, first of the church and then of the town, to transform its propensity to give into social services for various categories of the needy.

The Catalan experience in the main is congruent with that of the model suggested for other European societies. Indeed, several external forces—the Gregorian reform movement, the penetration into Catalonia of foreign religious orders, papally sanctioned inducements to give—had an impact upon developments here. But the essentially local initiative for most Catalan hospitals also suggests the importance of native influences at work simultaneously in Barcelona, as well as in Toulouse or Montpellier, and makes compelling the argument that the caritative impulse in this region paralleled, and was not merely derived from, the experiences of France and Italy.



THE "SAINTED QUEEN" AND THE "SIN OF  
BERENGUELA": TERESA GIL DE VIDAURE AND  
BERENGUELA ALFONSO IN DOCUMENTS OF THE  
CROWN OF ARAGON, 1255-1272

*Cynthia L. Chamberlin*

Little serious study has been made of the women in the life of Jaume I of Aragon-Catalonia (reigned 1213-1276). Most of what has been written consists of variations on one or two themes derived largely from historical tradition and medieval topoi. This is not very surprising, in one sense, because various chronicles, and even the king's autobiography, rarely mention women, preferring to devote the bulk of their pages to accounts of the king's military exploits.<sup>1</sup> This gives the misleading impression that women—except, perhaps, his second wife, Queen Yolande—played no important role in his life. But in another sense, this neglect is remarkable because extensive documentation of Jaume's reign has survived, and in it Jaume's wives and concubines appear with some frequency. Historians largely have ignored this documentation, seeming to prefer the ease of repeating tradition; or, like Josep Soler i Palet, they have attempted to fit the documents into the established tradition, rather than analyzing them independently. This lack of discernment not only has misrepresented important aspects of Jaume's character, but has continued to obscure important aspects of women's roles in thirteenth-century Hispanic society.

Later historians do not have much excuse for their silence or lack of perception about Jaume's concubines, especially as Jaume himself, apart from the *Llibre dels feyts*, made no attempt to hide their existence, even if sometimes he did try to impose on posterity his own interpretation of their presence. Historians have not been so prudish as to ignore Jaume's concubines altogether, but some have

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<sup>1</sup> Robert I. Burns, "The Spiritual Life of Jaume the Conqueror, King of Aragón-Catalonia, 1208-1276: Portrait and Self-portrait," *Jaime I y su época*, X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Saragossa, 1979), 328-33. This short study of Jaume's life is the exception to the tendency to ignore the women. The king's relations with his wives and concubines are not its primary focus, but only one of several aspects of his character that are analyzed in this article.

undergone notable contortions in attempts to explain away, or at least romanticize, the king's liaisons. Charles de Tourtoulon tried to argue that all the women after Yolande's death in 1251—four in all—were morganatic wives.<sup>2</sup> In fact, only one of them, Teresa Gil de Vidaure, had that status.

The traditional view of Jaume's tangled marital relations in 1255–1272 has cast Teresa Gil de Vidaure in the role of the virtuous wife enduring with pious resignation the vicissitudes forced upon her by fate and a faithless husband. Her successor, Berenguela Alfonso, conversely, has been cast as the temptress who led the king astray from his devoted wife, into a life of sin. Teresa's virtue is enhanced by other topoi: she was formerly the chaste and beautiful widow who would not yield to the king's importunings unless he made her his wife; cast aside, she retires to a convent and a life of sanctity. Presumably Berenguela's sinfulness is so apparent as to require little enhancement, for no equivalent topoi accompany her role as temptress, except the blame some contemporaries assigned her as the motivating factor in Jaume's failure to fulfill his crusade in 1269. That episode presents her as something of a Cleopatra, distracting the warrior from his duties, but otherwise she remains the stock, featureless figure of an old man's folly.

Such traditions are not without some basis in fact, as is true of many historical legends, but they are too simplistic and gravely incomplete. An analysis of contemporary charters, memoranda, letters, legal practices, and chroniclers' comments provides a much fuller and more accurate account of the lives of these three principals. Teresa Gil de Vidaure was no distressed plaster saint, and Berenguela Alfonso's relationship with the king was much more complex than tradition allows.

Teresa has presented historians with a conundrum since at least the early fifteenth century, as they tried to determine whether she was really Jaume's wife or merely another mistress.<sup>3</sup> Her status is a key to understanding the king's relationships with the women who

<sup>2</sup> Charles de Tourtoulon, *Don Jaime I, el Conquistador, rey de Aragón, conde de Barcelona, señor de Montpellier, según las crónicas y documentos inéditos*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., trans. T. Llorente y Olivares (Valencia, 1874), 2:282.

<sup>3</sup> The chronicler Boades was recounting a highly romanticized, and correspondingly inaccurate, version of Teresa's life by 1420. See Josep Soler i Palet, "Un aspecto de la vida privada de Jaime I," *Congrés d'Historia de la Corona d'Aragó, dedicat al rey en Jaume I y a la seua época*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1909–1913), 2:555–56.

populated his life during the latter half of his reign. Since she outlived him, none of the others could have been more than a concubine, if she was his wife. On the other hand, Jaume's behavior towards her, and the presence of two subsequent female companions during her lifetime, seemed to several historians to indicate that she could not have been the king's wife. Adding to this confusion was an imprecise understanding of the medieval Iberian institution of *barraganía*, or concubinage.

In the *Furs* of Valencia, Jaume I legislated extensively on the subject of marriage, but he did not address the issue of concubinage. His son-in-law Alfonso X of Castile, however, devoted a small section of his *Siete Partidas* to concubinage, based almost entirely on what Roman law had to say on the subject. The attitudes expressed in it echo those of Jaume's realms. In those cases in which actual practice can be discerned, it tended to correspond closely to the precepts of the *Siete Partidas*.

Alfonso X's treatment of concubinage begins with a brief disquisition on its origins and purposes. The first part is of interest in the context of Jaume's relationships with his mistresses:

Holy Church prohibits concubines, so no Christian should have one, because they would be living with them in mortal sin. But the ancient scholars who made the laws permitted them, so that some men might have them without temporal penalty, because they held that it was less wicked to have one woman than many. And so that the children that would be born of them might be of more certain parentage.<sup>4</sup>

This establishes three major themes in thirteenth-century Hispanic legal thought on concubinage. First, the church prohibited the practice, but secular laws permitted it. Second, toleration of concubinage was not a license to keep a harem; its intent, like that of marriage, was to limit a man to one female companion. Moreover, the *Siete Partidas* insists that no married man may have a concubine.<sup>5</sup> Although it does not say so explicitly, the essential practical difference between concubinage and marriage was that concubinage did not have to be

<sup>4</sup> *Siete Partidas* IV.xiv.10, in *Código de las Siete Partidas*, ed. Gregorio López, in *Los códigos españoles, concordados y anotados*, vol. 3 (Madrid, 1848).

<sup>5</sup> *Siete Partidas* IV.iv.2. Francisco A. Roca Traver cites cases from thirteenth-century Valencia in which married men who kept concubines were denounced to the authorities as bigamists; see *El justicia de Valencia, 1238-1321* (Valencia, 1970), 276-80, 293.

permanent. In theory, a man might have more than one concubine, but not at the same time. Apparently Jaume I abided by these rules throughout most of his life, insofar as reliable dates for his concubines' tenures can be established. It was only from 1266 on that he had both a wife and a concubine, a situation he had not intended and from which he tried to extricate himself several times, albeit by seeking to divorce his wife rather than by giving up his concubine. Third, a certain permanence was assumed in the expectation that a concubine would produce children of recognized parentage. This expectation of offspring, in its turn, implied the father's responsibility to provide for any children his concubine might bear to him. Such children were not bastards but were not precisely legitimate, unless their father arranged to legitimize them. They usually were designated "natural" children.<sup>6</sup>

These three lines of thought converged in the practice of giving the concubine a contract that stated what properties or income the man had granted her for her maintenance and that of any children she might bear, as well as any conditions that might be attached to the grant. These documents were not as formal or immutable as the term "contract" makes them sound. In form, they usually resembled other grant charters, which is actually what they were. A concubine might receive several of these, one for each new property her lover added to her endowment. A number of these contracts made between Jaume I and various of his ladies have survived, and they provide a mine of information on the social and economic status of each woman, as well as the occasional personal detail.

Apart from the obvious considerations of what properties and privileges each woman received, and how much these were worth, the most interesting features of these documents are the legal formulae and any conditions that might be included in a grant. Two formulae inevitably distinguish a concubine's contract from an ordinary grant charter. The first is the form of address used to indicate the recipient. She is given her full name, preceded by some variation of the formula *dilecte nostre domne* or *karissime nostre domne*. The second distinguishing feature is what might be called the "children clause." This is the section of the grant that determines the disposition of the property being granted with regard to any children that might be, or

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<sup>6</sup> *Siete Partidas* IV.xv.1; IV.xv.4-8.

already have been, born of the union.<sup>7</sup> This clause placed restrictions on the property's disposal, with the intent of preserving it for the children to inherit or determining its fate if there were no surviving offspring. Some children clauses could be marvelously complex in their wording and in the conditions they attached. Not every grant to a concubine contained such a clause, although those concerning land invariably did. But the discovery of a document containing a children clause is sufficient to establish a woman's liaison with the king. In contrast, a clause in this form does not appear in donations made to either of Jaume's queens, and any document concerning a queen always makes explicit reference to her legally married status. Given the striking contrast in the formulary proper to queens and that used for concubines, it is fascinating to observe that all documents that concern Teresa Gil de Vidaure are cast in the form used for a concubine. The first of these, a grant on April 10, 1255, contained no children clause, but it addressed her as "our dear lady Teresa Gil."<sup>8</sup> Barely a month later, however, on May 9, 1255, there appears the first of a ten-year series of grant charters cast in the familiar form, including children clauses. This one gave the castle and town of Jérica to "you, our dear lady Teresa Gil," and provided that:

If a son or daughter, or sons or daughters, shall be begotten by us and they shall be living after your death, that son or daughter, or those sons or daughters, shall have the said castle and town of Jérica . . . as a permanent, tax-exempt, and free hereditary estate. . . . And if by chance (may it not happen!) a son or daughter, or sons or daughters, begotten by us upon you, should not be living after your death (as it is said), each and every one of the aforesaid properties shall revert to us and to our successors in the kingship of Valencia.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> A model example of this formula can be found in a grant to one of the king's earlier concubines, Guillerma de Cabrera, on August 6, 1252. See Ambrosio Huici Miranda and María Desamparados Cabañes Pecourt, eds., *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, 4 vols. (Valencia, 1976), 3:doc. 608.

<sup>8</sup> Huici, 3:doc. 671. Some historians, notably Soler i Palet, have asserted that Teresa first appears in the documentation in 1238, namely as the recipient of property in Valencia in the city's repartiment and of a bequest from her grandmother Toda Ladrón, whose last will was drawn up during the siege of Valencia ("Un aspecto," 541, 543-44; also pub. in Huici, 1:doc. 272). Certainly these sources mention a woman called Teresa Gil, although her parentage is not specified and she never is called "de Vidaure." It is therefore not certain if this is the same woman who would become Jaume's third wife in 1255. If it is, she clearly had no intimate relationship with him in 1238.

<sup>9</sup> Huici, 3:doc. 673.

By August 18, 1257, when Teresa was given the town and castle of Flix, the children clause had to be altered slightly to encompass the arrival of at least one child and the prospect of more: "We give . . . and hand over to you, our very dear lady Teresa Gil de Vidaure, and to our sons whom we have and will have by you, and to their descendants, the castle and town of Flix as an allod, permanent, tax-exempt, and free forever."<sup>10</sup> Nowhere in any of these documents is there a reference to marriage. If one were to judge by these documents alone, as some historians have done, the obvious conclusion would be that Teresa was merely a concubine. The obvious conclusion would be wrong.

The most obvious proof that Teresa was a wife, not a concubine, was Jaume's own admission. In late 1265 or early 1266, captivated by Berenguela Alfonso, he petitioned Clement IV for a divorce from Teresa, only to be refused point-blank and chastised sharply in several subsequent letters. A man does not ask that his marriage be dissolved unless he believes that he is married. Jaume's original petition has not survived, but the pope's first letter reveals the king's presentation of the facts as he understood them:

You must not believe that we should wish to dissolve a true marriage. . . . We believed that you knew for a long time that, when you espoused yourself to the noble woman Teresa by a promise to wed [*per verba de futuro*], as your letter says, even though it was not a true marriage [at that time], nevertheless what was begun in this fashion was made true and consummated by the subsequent carnal union. How should the Vicar of God separate those whom God has joined together?<sup>11</sup>

According to Jaume, he had contracted himself to Teresa *per verba de futuro*, which in and of itself was only a promise to marry, and evidently their union had not been blessed by the church. As the pope explained, however, a religious ceremony was not required to turn this sort of betrothal into a true marriage. Consummation alone sufficed. Jaume had to know this, as implied by his additional plea

<sup>10</sup> Huici, 3: doc. 744.

<sup>11</sup> Playa del Rey, California, Institute of Medieval Mediterranean Spain [hereafter IMMS], photocopy of Archivio Secreto Vaticano [hereafter ASV], Reg. 30 (Clem. IV), fol. 25r. (Feb. 17, 1266). Excerpts from this and accompanying papal letters on the subject have been published in Cesare Baronio, *et al.*, *Annales ecclesiastici* . . . *denuo et accurate excusi, et ad nostra usque tempora perducti ab Augustino Thenier* (Bar-le-Duc, 1880), 22: 1266, 27–28 (pp. 180–81); and in Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Thesaurum novum anecdotorum* (Paris, 1717; repr. New York, 1968), 2:277–78.

that Teresa was suffering from leprosy. The pope, nevertheless, dismissed this latter argument indignantly. When Jaume tried again in 1275 to divorce Teresa, he added another excuse, namely that he had had intimate relations with a cousin of Teresa's before marrying Teresa, thereby rendering their union impermissibly consanguineous from the start. These three arguments were no more effective with Gregory X than the original two had been with Clement IV.<sup>12</sup>

Two questions remain: first, why grants to Teresa never mentioned that she was the king's wife; and second, why they were cast in the form commonly used for a concubinage contract. The complete answer perhaps cannot be known, but the key lies in the fact that, although she was the king's wife, Teresa was never queen. Jaume never calls her queen.<sup>13</sup> No pope ever calls her queen. The closest Clement IV came was in a rhetorical flourish in rebuttal to Jaume's claim that Teresa had leprosy: "Do you think that if all the queens in the regions of the world were seized with leprosy, we would give the kings permission for that reason to take other wives? Know you that each and every one of them would receive an equal denial, even though all their dynasties, no descendants surviving, should dry up absolutely in all their roots and in their branches."<sup>14</sup> When he referred to Teresa herself, the pope called her merely a "noble woman" or "your wife." Most importantly, Teresa herself never used the title of queen. Even in her will of 1280, she merely styled herself "Na Teresa, widow of the very illustrious En Jaume, late king of Aragon."<sup>15</sup>

A reasonable explanation for referring to Teresa under the formula *dilecte nostre domne* is that the royal chancery possessed no legal formulae for a king's morganatic wife and so fell back on the nearest analogy that covered the facts not too inaccurately, namely the

<sup>12</sup> Tourtoulon, *Don Jaime*, 2:389.

<sup>13</sup> Joaquim Miret i Sans notes several cryptic memoranda in 1266–1267 that refer to the itinerary of "Madona la Regina," who is not named. He gives a partial source for only the memorandum of April 5, 1266: A.C.A. Reg. 30. Who this "queen" was, since Jaume had no queen after 1251, is an intriguing question, and further research is indicated, especially as this period was precisely when Jaume was in conflict with Clement IV over his attempt to replace Teresa with Berenguela. See *Itinerari de Jaume I "el Conqueridor"* (Barcelona, 1918), 387, 394, 401, 406.

<sup>14</sup> IMMS photocopy of ASV, Reg. 30 (Clem. IV), fol. 25r. (Feb. 17, 1266).

<sup>15</sup> Roque Chabás Llorens, "Doña Teresa Gil de Vidaure," *El archivo*, 6 (1892), 34, cites a summary of the will by José María Torres in *Revista de Valencia*, 2, p. 49. But see note 26, below, for Teresa's will and codicil. See also Vicente Ferrán Salvador, "El real monasterio cistercense de Gratia Dei (Zaidia) en Valencia: Aportación a su historia," *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana*, 22 (1961), 71 n. 23.

concubine's formula. In this situation it also would have been logical to employ the familiar children clause. The result would have looked exactly like a concubine's contract, but since the latter never actually used the word "concubine," it would have been both vague enough to cover any contingency and specific enough to ensure the proper person had title to the gift in question. There are weaknesses in this theory. The obvious objection is that Jaume certainly could have instructed his notaries to create new formulae, at the very least to identify Teresa as *uxor nostra*.

Why he did not do so is a matter for speculation. In his autobiography Jaume makes a great deal of his own regal ancestry and that of his two queens.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that he did not consider a mere noblewoman sufficiently blue-blooded to be a king's true wife. Such an assumption might explain why he did not make Teresa his queen, although the decision just as easily might have been hers. If rank did play a role in Jaume's calculations, it may be that in whatever vows he exchanged with Teresa he deliberately left himself a loophole, or thought he had, so that at some future date he might free himself to contract another royal alliance. His plea to the pope that he had espoused Teresa only *per verba de futuro* hints that he had some such reservation in mind. Nevertheless, Teresa was recognized generally as the king's wife, her sons therefore legitimate. She certainly behaved as his wife, not only sharing his bed but accompanying him on his travels throughout his realms. She had a substantial household; and Jaume's registers provide numerous examples of her financial affairs.<sup>17</sup> All of these records, added to the numerous grants of lands made her by the king, paint the portrait of a woman who, if not officially a queen, lived in a decidedly regal style.

What really happened to end Teresa's relationship with Jaume is not entirely clear, in large part because it was a contentious topic at the time and the few surviving records squarely take one party's side of the issue or the other. As late as March 18, 1265, relations be-

<sup>16</sup> *Crònica del rei Jaume I el Conqueridor* [*Llibre dels feyts* by Jaume I], ed. Ferrán Soldevila, in *Les quatre grans cròniques* (Barcelona, 1971), chaps. 1–8. Burns, "Spiritual Life," 352.

<sup>17</sup> Robert I. Burns, *Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: The Registered Charters of its Conqueror Jaume I, 1257–1276*, vol. 2: *Foundations of Crusader Valencia: Revolt and Recovery, 1257–1263* (Princeton, 1991), doc. 348; Miret i Sans, *Itinerari*, 280, 329, 330, 352, 559; Soler i Palet, "Un aspecte," 552–54. The latter also cites a document on his p. 553 which Miret i Sans dates 1265.



tween them appear to have been normal.<sup>18</sup> Less than a year later, however, Jaume was in the throes of his first attempt to divorce Teresa and replace her with Berenguela Alfonso. According to the king, Teresa had developed leprosy, which apparently reminded him that he never had been properly married to her in the first place. According to Clement IV, the real cause was the aging king's shameless passion for Berenguela, and an annulment was out of the question. On February 17, 1266, the pope issued his first stinging rebuke to Jaume's request:

We are very astonished at the effrontery and the motive with which you have presented to us a petition so contrary to God, abominable to the angels, and monstrous to men. You must not believe that we should wish to dissolve a true marriage, and to pollute ourselves by participation out of agreement to an illicit union. . . . Far be that wicked deed from us, to violate the laws of the Lord and to offend the Creator and Redeemer of men in order to please men! . . . If you ask us what you are to do, since you cannot cohabit with your wife without grave danger to your health, this rule is evidently enough: Bear the Lord's power, that has brought a chance misfortune. . . . Do not tell us that you cannot observe continence. . . . How could the Lord, just and good, order that all people should abstain from illicit sex, if one man might object that it is impossible to observe the command?<sup>19</sup>

Certainly the coincidence of Jaume's first meeting with Berenguela, in December 1265, and his sudden discovery of flaws in his marriage to Teresa is enough to raise suspicions. But it may be reading too much into this coincidence of timing to assert that Jaume's newfound passion for Berenguela was the sole cause of his marital difficulties with Teresa. It is difficult to discern people's private emotions through the medium of royal charters, so the historian cannot know what quarrels or lessening of affection might have come between the king and his third wife before Jaume sought a formal separation. The very fact that he never accorded her titles different from a concubine's in his charters suggests that he reserved the right to consider their union dispensable.

It is known that Teresa founded the Cistercian convent of Gratia Dei in Valencia city, in the palace called the Zaidia, which the king

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<sup>18</sup> The second of two property lists cited here, for Valencia, will be published in *Diplomatarium*, vol. 3 (doc. dated Mar. 18, 1265), forthcoming. Soler i Palet, "Un aspecto," 551-52 n. 1, gives the text of other pertinent documents.

<sup>19</sup> IMMS photocopy of ASV, Reg. 30 (Clem. IV), fol. 25r. (Feb. 17, 1266).

had granted to their son Jaume de Jérica on April 5, 1260.<sup>20</sup> Since she also was buried there in the habit of the order, tradition long has held that she retired to this convent upon Jaume's desertion and eventually became a nun. There is even a story that, modestly refusing the office of abbess, she served as the convent's portress. A number of historians therefore have jumped to the conclusion that Teresa founded Gratia Dei as her refuge when she realized that the king had tired of her. It seemed an appropriate end to Teresa's legend of virtue and near-martyrdom in her fidelity to a faithless husband. A seventeenth-century life even depicted her as dying in the odor of sanctity, revered afterwards as the "sainted queen," with a feast day on July 5.<sup>21</sup>

There is only one problem with this account: apart from the facts that Teresa founded the convent and was buried there, none of it is true. A large part of this myth can be attributed to Josef Teixidor's well-intentioned, but incompletely informed, efforts to compose a coherent narrative of Gratia Dei's founding. Later historians perpetuated his conclusions, although some came to question a number of them.

This confusion of dates brings up the vital issue of the chronology of the convent's founding. Because Teixidor cites a royal donation on November 1, 1265, a foundation date of "early 1265" was posited, which seemed to dovetail neatly with the start of Jaume's disenchantment with Teresa and his infatuation with Berenguela. Thus was born the theory that Teresa founded the convent as her refuge. Teixidor even remarked on "the haste with which it was founded."<sup>22</sup> In fact, Jaume did not meet Berenguela until December 1265. Moreover, Teresa conceived the Gratia Dei project in 1263 or even earlier, at a time when her relationship with Jaume was quite sound.

Medieval noblewomen founded and patronized religious houses, but for reasons that had little to do with providing themselves with a refuge in case of a husband's disaffection. It was an act of piety by those who could afford to demonstrate their piety on a grand scale, and if there was any element of precaution in such an act, it was on

<sup>20</sup> Huici, 4: doc. 1172. Josef Teixidor, *Antigüedades de Valencia* [1767], ed. Roque Chabás Llorens, 2 vols. (Valencia, 1895), 2:135.

<sup>21</sup> *Antigüedades*, 2:138–40. Chabás, "Doña Teresa," 28–29, 32–33. Soler i Palet, "Un aspecto," 556, 576. Julián Avellanes Coscojuela, "Teresa Gil de Vidaure y Jaime el Conquistador," *Congrés d'Història . . . dedicat al rey en Jaume I*, 2:797–98.

<sup>22</sup> *Antigüedades*, 2:138–39.

behalf of the noblewoman's soul and the souls of her family, not her social security. The usual pattern of foundation in thirteenth-century Spain was for the lady to designate a substantial house and adjoining property for the monastery's site, usually in or near an urban area. She made arrangements for obtaining nuns for the new house, and applied to the local bishop and the order she had chosen to license her foundation. Once the foundation had been accomplished, the patroness donated lands for the convent's maintenance and encouraged similar donations from other parties. In return, she exercised a measure of control over the convent's financial affairs, and the nuns were obligated to pray for the souls of their foundress and any other persons she named, usually her kin. She would be buried within the convent, frequently alongside members of her family. This is exactly the pattern that Teresa followed in founding Gratia Dei.

Robert I. Burns's study of the convent's foundation reveals that the project was in an advanced stage of planning already by 1263, when the proposal was set before the Cistercian chapter general. Final approval was confirmed in 1268.<sup>23</sup> In order for the Cistercian order to have been entertaining the proposal in 1263, plans would have to have been under way even earlier, in 1262 or before. In all the relevant documentation there is nothing to suggest that Gratia Dei was founded as anything but a wealthy noblewoman's conventional act of piety.

Finally, there is no evidence that Teresa ever became a nun. What few facts are known indicate that she did not. Joaquim Miret i Sans cites two documents that called upon Teresa, among other important vassals and officials, to render military service, or its monetary equivalent, in 1271 and 1274, well after the king's separation from her. It is extremely unlikely that a nun should have been called on in such a capacity.<sup>24</sup> She styled herself merely the king of Aragon's widow in her 1280 will as well. Roque Chabás Llorens concluded that Teresa was not a nun, on the strength of the 1280 will and a subsequent undated codicil, in which she bequeathed extensive properties to her children and grandchildren and several religious houses, including Gratia Dei. He observed sensibly that a nun scarcely would have had so much property to dispose of. Teresa would not have

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<sup>23</sup> Robert I. Burns, *Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 1:227-28.

<sup>24</sup> Miret i Sans, *Itinerari*, 455, 497.

needed to specify burial in a Cistercian habit if she already were a nun. In response to the suggestion that Teresa might have led a retired life at Gratia Dei without having taken vows, Chabás noted that the term used in the 1280 will to denote her residence, *real* or *realet*, meant a royal estate of some magnitude.<sup>25</sup> The most that can be asserted is that she died at Gratia Dei in 1288 and was interred there, as requested, wearing the habit of the order.<sup>26</sup>

Whatever might have alienated the king's affections from Teresa in the first place, the direct cause of Jaume's attempt to divorce her formally undoubtedly was Berenguela Alfonso. The pope had no doubt of this, and Jaume virtually admits it in his autobiography. The suddenness of the king's passion for this Castilian noblewoman young enough to have been his daughter, if not his granddaughter, is transmitted clearly even by the official documents.

Berenguela was the natural daughter of Fernando III's younger brother Alfonso, lord of Molina and Mesa (b. 1204?–1272).<sup>27</sup> The fact of her parentage made her both the great-niece of Jaume's first wife and the first cousin of his daughter Yolande's husband, Alfonso X of Castile. Although there was no close blood relationship, these ties of marital kinship were enough to make their liaison incestuous by canonical standards. This fact did not seem to bother Jaume so much as did the inconvenient existence of a previous wife, if one may judge by his silence on the issue of consanguinity in his petition to Clement IV. It did, however, add to the pope's moral outrage over Jaume's domestic irregularities.

There is no question that Jaume wanted to marry Berenguela. His petition for divorce makes this obvious, as does the notorious passage in his autobiography that relates Jaume's abortive confession during his Murcian campaign. Jaume told his confessor that, "I was not worried about any wrong against our Lord by which I ought to

<sup>25</sup> Chabás, "Doña Teresa," 32–35.

<sup>26</sup> Ferrán Salvador, "El real monasterio," 73. In his edition of Teixidor's *Antigüedades*, Chabás says that Teresa's final will, which is undated, is to be found in the Archivo del Reino de Valencia, serie de Real Justicia; and he implies that he actually has seen the text, although it has not, to the best of my knowledge, been published. Manuela Fernández-Arroyo y Cabeza de Vaca and Jesús Villalmanzo Cameno, *Catálogo de la serie Real Justicia* (Madrid, 1976), cat. no. 1987 (p. 425), lists Teresa's will as part of a collection of documents in vol. 805 (año 1763).

<sup>27</sup> See Pedro Aguado Bleye, *Manual de historia de España*, 7th ed., 2 vols. (Madrid, 1954), 1:658; *Diccionari biogràfic* 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1966), 1:272; Julio González, *Alfonso IX*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1944), 1:313; *Gran enciclopedia catalana* 3:458; A. Tona i Nadalmái, *Minyonia del bon rei Jaume: El Conqueridor, la dona i la llegenda* (Barcelona, 1973), 238.

be damned, except only the one of Na Berenguela; and I had it in my heart to live with her without sin, as a man ought to do with his wife." The implication is that it was his extramarital cohabitation with Berenguela that bothered Jaume, not any thought of technical incest. His confessor replied that "mortal sin was a grave thing, but if I had it in my heart to remove it, he would absolve me." But Jaume offered the rationalization that since he was going into battle on behalf of Christianity against the Muslims of Murcia, "I would serve God so well on that day and in that conquest, that He would pardon me, since otherwise I had no ill will towards anyone, and that was enough for Him." With this casuistical theology, he forewent absolution and settled for the confessor's blessing instead.<sup>28</sup> In his autobiography the king alludes to their first meeting in a way that permits a fairly precise dating to be established. Referring to a meeting with Alfonso X over the proposed Murcian campaign, Jaume notes, obliquely, "And I found in Alcaraz the queen [of Castile] and her daughters, and Na Berenguela Alfonso, who later came to me."<sup>29</sup> The expression "came to" is the polite phrase for her having become his mistress. It appears again in various documents, including one that refers explicitly to their first meeting in Alcaraz, in which Jaume speaks of the settlement "which we promised in our charter to give you at the time that you came to us in Alcaraz."<sup>30</sup> Jaume personally participated in the Murcian campaign between January 5 and March 4, 1266. The meeting at Alcaraz took place in late 1265, between December 8 and 16.<sup>31</sup>

The rapidity with which events unfolded, as attested to by these documents and Clement IV's letter, was remarkable. Jaume must have been smitten immediately. He fired off the petition for annulment probably in the same month, considering that the pope's refusal was composed only two months later, on February 17, 1266. Jaume's account of his unsuccessful confession indicates that he did not wait for official clearance before consorting openly with his new lady. He continued to do so even after the pope refused to grant the annulment. This behavior reached the pope's attention with the same rapidity that characterized the start of this affair. On July 5, 1266, in

<sup>28</sup> *Crònica* [*Llibre dels feyts*], chap. 426.

<sup>29</sup> *Crònica*, chap. 432.

<sup>30</sup> Cited in Soler i Palet, "Un aspecto," 559 n. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Miret i Sans, *Itinerari*, 562. Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio*, 2nd ed., with indices by Miguel Rodríguez Llopis (Barcelona, 1984), 395-96.

a letter otherwise conveying congratulations on Jaume's conquest of Murcia, Clement IV censured the king's personal life:

But what does it profit kings to overthrow [their enemies] in the field, and to be vilely subjugated by a handmaiden or a servant at home? We write these things, dearest son, because we bear it with difficulty that you, the conqueror of so many enemies, should be conquered by your own flesh, to the extent that—considering the fear of God less important—having instituted an illicit union between yourself and a woman not your wife, you take the adulteress around with you, to the scandal of many people; and by adding incest to adultery, you offend the eyes of the Divine Majesty. . . . How you expose yourself to peril, to be sure, living under a miserable fate, enslaved by a little hussy [*muliercula*]; and just as a bull is led to the sacrifice, so you let yourself be led to hell. What shall your victories profit you? What your triumphs? What your kingly blood? What your power—if you putrefy in your waste like a mule on earth? Realize, we ask, and reflect how it grows late and the day at present is setting for you, and you go, like all the rest, to that inevitable end that the Lord has designated beforehand for all flesh. It does not become you to pollute the last years of your life. . . . Put the adulterous woman away from you, indeed that worthless woman; so that you may finish your days both healthily and virtuously in goodness and that from the temporal kingdom that you have, you may come to the glory of the everlasting kingdom.<sup>32</sup>

The “many people” shocked by such conduct evidently did not include the Castilian royal family, since Berenguela's cousin the infante Manuel acted as one of the guarantors of her contract and several prominent Castilian subjects were among the witnesses to the agreement between Berenguela and Jaume.

This refusal also left Jaume with the problem of what to do about Berenguela now that he could not marry her. His solution was to keep her as a concubine, ignoring the fact that doing so was no less illegal than formal bigamy. As a concubine, she had to receive a contract guaranteeing her financial security and that of any children she might bear. Berenguela's extant contract, if it is that precisely, and the series of attendant documents it provoked, shows that the settlement she received was truly queenly.

The original was made at Alcaraz in December 1265, according to Jaume's later allusion to it.<sup>33</sup> It has not survived, unfortunately, so

<sup>32</sup> Baronio, 22:1266, 25–26 (pp. 180–81); Martène, 2:362–63.

<sup>33</sup> Soler i Palet, “Un aspecto,” 559 n. 1.

there is no way of knowing whether or not it promised marriage. It may even have been a purely verbal contract. What has survived, and evidently contains the same property settlement agreed upon at Alcaraz, is an undated charter recorded in Jaume's registers amidst documents dated in mid-April 1267.<sup>34</sup> Most of the latter part is taken up by the guarantors' promises to see the terms of the contract fulfilled, by Jaume's promises to them that they will not suffer materially by doing so, and by a list of witnesses. The interesting parts are the actual terms to which Jaume bound himself:

We, Don Jaime . . . grant and recognize that we owe to you, Doña Berenguela Alfonso, daughter of the infante Don Alfonso, lord of Molina and Mesa, 30,000 good gold alfonsine morabatins of true weight; the which we give you by reason of the financial agreement you made between us and you. We promise in good faith and without deceit to pay those said 30,000 morabatins to you by the Christmas that is coming two years hence, and we promise that we will not contravene this [agreement] in any way. . . . And in order to take care of and fulfill this, we constrain to you all the goods that we have or will have, [immoveable] and moveable, out of which you may the better take what you like. And so that all the things aforesaid may have a greater security, we the said Don Jaime order that our pendant seal be affixed to this charter.<sup>35</sup>

The document is vague about why Berenguela was to have 30,000 gold morabatins. None of the formulae of a concubine's contract are present here, although all Jaume's subsequent grant charters to her call her *karissime et dilecte nostre domne Berengarie Alfonsi* and elaborate children clauses are invoked in them. On the other hand, none of the formulae for a wife appear. A possible explanation lies in what looks like a reference to a separate document setting out the details of whatever agreement Jaume and Berenguela had reached: "by reason of the financial agreement you made between us and you." In that case, this indenture for 30,000 morabatins would be only a supplement to another document, now lost. Another explanation might be

<sup>34</sup> IMMS, photocopy of Archivo de la Corona de Aragón [hereafter ACA], Canc., reg. 14, fol. 86v. Soler i Palet, "Un aspecto," 558 n. 1, has a generally adequate transcription of this document, except in the clause "obligamos a uos todos nuestros bienes que auemos e auremos scritos e movientos." The heavily abbreviated word he transcribes as *scritos* is certainly not that, although precisely what it is, is not clear. From context, it should be a term with the sense of "immoveable."

<sup>35</sup> IMMS, photocopy of ACA, Canc., reg. 14, fol. 86v.; also cited in Soler i Palet, "Un aspecto," 558 n. 1.

that Jaume, rightly wary about his ability to marry Berenguela, did not want to commit himself in writing to a promise to wed.

If she could not be queen, she would have a queen's endowment, on that Jaume seemed determined. 30,000 gold alfonsine morabatins was roughly equivalent to 180,000 sous. By way of comparison, a soldier's salary was 150 sous a year, a knight's about 375, a castellan's 1000 to 3500. The royal justiciar of Valencia city was paid about 2000 sous annually.<sup>36</sup> At virtually the same time that this agreement with Berenguela was being drawn up, crown revenues from Valencia city for two years were leased for 100,000 sous.<sup>37</sup> Roughly calculated, Berenguela was to receive the equivalent of nearly four years' crown income from one of the western Mediterranean's major ports.

Not surprisingly, it was easier to promise this sum than to deliver it, and Jaume's efforts to fulfill his promise left a trail through several years of his registers. But it must have been obvious from the beginning that the revenues of the small places that Jaume gave his lady, no matter how prosperous, would not pay 30,000 morabatins by Christmas 1267. Most of the documents concerning Berenguela's finances have not yet been transcribed adequately, so until they have been collected and edited properly as a body, it will be difficult to analyze patterns in Berenguela's acquisition of properties. It seems, however, that it was after 1267 that the floodgates opened. Jaume began giving her towns, castles, and cash grants.<sup>38</sup> The impression is that the king was being obliged to make good on his promise: "We constrain to you all the goods that we have or will have, immoveable and moveable, out of which you may the better take what you like." In these documents appears the frequently repeated hope that her tenure of the lands being given would help to pay off the enormous sum owed to her. On March 10, 1269, confirming yet another series of grants that his father had made to her, the infant Pere chanted the same refrain: "You shall hold the aforesaid castles and towns . . . [until] you shall be satisfied of the 30,000 morabatins that our said father promised to give you when you came to him."<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Robert I. Burns, *Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia. The Registered Charters of its Conqueror Jaume I, 1257-1276*, vol. 1: *Society and Documentation in Crusader Valencia* (Princeton, 1985), 109.

<sup>37</sup> This document will be published in Burns, *Diplomatarium*, vol. 3 (Oct. 28, 1265), forthcoming.

<sup>38</sup> See documents forthcoming in Burns, *Diplomatarium*, vol. 3. See also Soler i Palet, "Un aspecto," 559-60 n. 2, and 560-61 n. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Cited in Soler i Palet, "Un aspecto," 561.



Given the current state of the documentation, it is not possible to make an accounting of how much property Berenguela actually acquired, much less of how much income she realized from it and from Jaume's occasional cash presents. Complicating the situation, there is evidence that his makeshift approach to paying her encountered practical difficulties. Several times, he had to issue her a debt bond instead of the revenues due her.<sup>40</sup> Another embarrassment occurred in 1271, when Jaume discovered that he already had promised several properties to the military order of Uclés and therefore had to take them back from Berenguela, giving her others instead.<sup>41</sup> Berenguela probably never received the full 30,000 morabatins before her death in 1272.

Some smaller accounts are more revealing of her relationship with Jaume. Clement IV had been quite correct in his statement that the king took his concubine around with him in public, exactly as if she were his wife. A series of notations from 1272 show her constantly in the king's company.<sup>42</sup> These expenses are very similar in nature to those recorded years earlier for Teresa, indicating that Jaume insisted on treating Berenguela as a wife, even though he could not make her one legally.<sup>43</sup>

Some outsiders perceived the situation differently. In a letter of January 16, 1267—in response to one in which Jaume proposed a crusade to the Holy Land, “for the purpose of avenging the injuries of the Crucified One,” and no doubt for the purpose of reconciling himself with the papal favor as well—Clement IV had become a bit more diplomatic, referring to Berenguela as “the noble woman Berenguela,” rather than as a “little hussy.” Nevertheless, he did not relent in his exhortations to Jaume to “give [her] up completely” and end a relationship bluntly described as “a business of the flesh, not without the stigma of incest and peril to your salvation,” since “you cannot please the Crucified One, nor redeem His injuries, if you do not wish to abstain from injuring Him yourself.” On February 9, 1267, Clement again urged Jaume to get rid of Berenguela, this time invoking the sorrowful tone of a father chastising the son

<sup>40</sup> Soler i Palet, “Un aspecto,” 562 and 563 n.4. The document is listed in Jesús Ernest Martínez Ferrando, *Catálogo de los documentos del antiguo reino de Valencia*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1934), 1: doc. 1225.

<sup>41</sup> Miret i Sans, *Itinerari*, 448; Martínez Ferrando, *Catálogo*, 1: doc. 1087.

<sup>42</sup> Miret i Sans, *Itinerari*, 464–65.

<sup>43</sup> See note 17 above.

he loves, for the son's own good.<sup>44</sup> It had as little practical effect as Clement's other rhetorical approaches. The pope's moral outrage stirred muted echoes in other observers, notably the chronicler who commented with disfavor on Jaume's crusade, which had failed ignominiously in 1269. Jaume had prepared several ships to go to the Holy Land, virtually in defiance of the pope's warning in 1267 that "the Crucified One does not accept the allegiance of one who, having soiled himself with an incestuous concubinage, is crucifying Him again."<sup>45</sup> They set sail in early September 1269, but two days out they encountered storms. The king's ship was separated from the others and headed for safety in Languedoc, while the others eventually reached the Syrian coast but made no serious attempt to mount a campaign in their commander's absence. Jaume did try to resume his voyage at least once, but did not get very far and returned to port. In his *Llibre dels feyts* Jaume devoted 19 chapters to an elaborate exercise in self-justification over this episode, blaming the weather, technical difficulties, and God's will. Then he abruptly changed the subject. The continuator of William of Tyre's chronicle had another explanation: Jaume's retreat had been motivated "by the fear he had of fate and by love of my lady Berenguela, by which there came to him great shame and great reproach."<sup>46</sup> The fiasco also inspired some censorious troubadour compositions.<sup>47</sup>

Most of the blame attached to Jaume himself, but the chronicler's snide reference to Berenguela suggests that some contemporaries saw her as a sort of Cleopatra, tempting the king into a life of luxurious irresponsibility when he should have been out making war on Muslims. Despite this humiliating episode, Jaume continued to keep

<sup>44</sup> For the letter of January 16, 1267, see excerpts in Baronio, 22:1266, 33 (p. 200); for that of February 9, 1267, see Martène, 2:448–49 (ASV, Reg. 30 [Clem. IV], fol. 54v.).

<sup>45</sup> Baronio, 22:1266, 33 (p. 200).

<sup>46</sup> Burns, "Spiritual Life," 343 n. 23.

<sup>47</sup> Tourtoulon, *Don Jaime*, 2:318–19. M. de Riquer says that Guillem de Cervera's long poem "Ascout qui vol ausir," or "Maldit, bendit," probably refers to Berenguela, although it never mentions her directly. This exposition on the contrast between the ruin brought by bad women, on the one hand, and the benefits of loving good women, on the other, was composed on March 10, 1271. Toward the end, in lines 543–610, Guillem appeals to Jaume I to correct him if he is wrong in making such an assessment. At one point, the poet even remarks that "the king has seen a time when he was very afraid to say anything unworthy or to consent to anything bad, lest his lady hear of it" (lines 590–594). It is not clear which lady is meant here, if indeed this is anything more than a conventional sentiment. See *Obras completas del trovador Cerverí de Girona: Texto, traducción y textos* (Barcelona, 1947), 323–46, and also Riquer's *Los trovadores: Historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1975), 3:1559.

Berenguela at his side, as the financial records examined above attest. Pride might have played a part in his stubbornness, as did Jaume's marked ability to convince himself of his own basic virtuousness, but genuine affection for Berenguela must be credited as well.

She was with him in Narbonne, en route to Montpellier, when she died of an unnamed illness in 1272. A document from the registers recorded the event briefly before proceeding to the first of several attempts at disentangling the legal and financial web presented by her will:

*Anno Domini* 1272, Friday, June 20: Na Berenguela Alfonso departed this world in Narbonne. May peace be upon her. And she was buried in the house of the Friars Minor.

Having no children, Berenguela left her real property, including her estates in Castile, to Jaume. This argues real affection on her part as well, for she had no shortage of siblings and cousins in Castile. Her other bequests were to religious houses, which Jaume supported in the days immediately following her death.<sup>48</sup> But as with Jaume's attempts to pay her the 30,000 gold morabatins, executing her will proved easier in theory than in application. By the time of Jaume's own death in 1276, the task still was unfinished, and in the second codicil to his last will, the king had to request "that the testament of the late Na Berenguela Alfonso be fulfilled and its execution ordered by the infant Pere and the infant Jaume, our sons, to whom the fulfillment and execution fall because it has not been fulfilled by us."<sup>49</sup>

Much remains to be done before a complete picture of Teresa Gil de Vidaure and Berenguela Alfonso can be constructed to replace the images offered by legend. A close study of their property acquisitions and other financial records, when the known documents have been collected and edited properly, would bring out dimensions that could be touched on only lightly here. Such a study will help to rescue from the toils of mythology the real characters of two women who had considerable influence on the government of Jaume I's realms.

<sup>48</sup> IMMS photocopies of ACA, Canc., reg. 18, fol. 88v.-89 (Montpellier, June 20, 1272), and reg. 21, fol. 43 (Montpellier, June 28, 1272); the latter document has been published in Soler i Palet, "Un aspecto," 564 n. 3.

<sup>49</sup> Miret i Sans, *Itinerari*, 467-68. Listed in Martínez Ferrando, *Catálogo*, docs. 1287, 2040, 1680. For Jaume's will, dated at Alcira, July 23, 1276, see Tourtoulon, *Don Jaume*, 2: doc. 22.

A *STEMMA CODICUM* FOR FRANCESC EIXIMENIS' *DOTZÈ*  
*DEL CRESTIÀ*

Donna M. Rogers

The author of the *Dotzè del Crestià*, Francesc Eiximenis, O.F.M. (1327?–1409?), was one of the best known Catalan writers of the Middle Ages. A cleric, writer and theologian, he was actively involved in contemporary court and church politics. He was close to the royal house of Aragon and advisor to the city councillors of Valencia; his opinion was sought in ecclesiastical and political matters. He was also a keen observer of the society in which he lived and his observations, with their depictions of daily life, are extremely valuable to scholars today who are interested in fourteenth-century Catalonia.

It is precisely because of Eiximenis' involvement in public affairs and interest in contemporary society that his work is so important today. He had first-hand knowledge of the inner workings of the court and of the city of Valencia, a principal commercial center and port, and he participated in debates on the vital question of the Papal Schism. As a result, he was in an excellent position to illuminate these offices and events for his readers.

Details about Eiximenis' early life are sketchy. Most of what we know about him dates from the last three decades of his life, during which time he lived in Valencia. His close ties to the royal family are well documented during this period: he was confessor to Prince Joan (later Joan I), and after enjoying the protection of King Pere III for many years, Eiximenis read the king's funeral oration in 1387. He did not begin writing until later in life, in the 1380s, when he began the ambitious project of *Lo Crestià*, intended to be a thirteen-volume encyclopedic compendium of Christian doctrine and morals. Its overall objective was to teach the foundations of Christianity and to examine the problems of his society and its people from a Christian perspective.

Only four books of *Lo Crestià* are extant—the *Primer*, *Segon*, *Terc* and *Dotzè*—and they alone have 2,587 chapters. They are probably the only ones ever completed, although Eiximenis seems to have made copious notes and may even have written some parts of the remaining books. Eiximenis' writings have long been neglected by many

researchers, in part because they have been unavailable in modern editions; they are now being edited by a team of Catalan and North American scholars, which should provide much easier access to the primary texts.<sup>1</sup>

The *Dotzè del Crestià*, also known as the *Regiment de prínceps e de comunitats*, is a political, moralistic treatise, intended for civil and military administrators and the ruling classes. Eiximenis composed the *Dotzè* in two parts: volume one, comprising chapters 1–466, was completed in Valencia in 1384–85; the second volume, consisting of chapters 467 (now 474) to 900 (now 907), was finished in 1386–87.<sup>2</sup> The discrepancy in the chapter numbers of the second volume is due to the addition by Eiximenis of seven new chapters in 1391, in which he recanted at the behest of King Joan I several prophecies he had made in chapter 466, where he predicted the fall of all the royal houses of Europe except the French, and the relocation of the Papal See to Jerusalem.

A small part of the *Dotzè* was written in 1383, also in Valencia. The 39 chapters of this segment, separately entitled *Regiment de la cosa pública*, were to be incorporated into the *Dotzè* proper as its third treatise. All of the *Regiment de la cosa pública* is found in the *Dotzè* except the dedication (which includes the enumeration of the “especials belleses de la ciutat de València,” or “special beauties of the city of Valencia”) and chapter 39, which is the conclusion to the treatise. Eiximenis divided chapter 38 of the *Regiment* into two parts when he incorporated it into the *Dotzè* (now chapters 394 and 395). He appears

<sup>1</sup> Eiximenis' works are being published in Spain by the Universitat de Girona. Two volumes have appeared to date: *Dotzè llibre del Crestià*, II, 1 (Girona, 1986) and *Dotzè llibre del Crestià*, II, 2 (Girona, 1988). The standard reference for Eiximenis scholars is still M. de Riquer, A. Comas and J. Molas, *Història de la literatura catalana* (Barcelona, 1980–88), 2:133–96. The most complete bibliographical study on Eiximenis is David J. Viera's *Bibliografia anotada de la vida i obra de Francesc Eiximenis (1340?–1409?)* (Barcelona, 1980). Helpful sources published since Viera's bibliography include the *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* series, which contains much useful material about Eiximenis, and which has recently been indexed by Josep Perarnau i Espelt: *Taules dels volums I–X de l'“Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics”* (Barcelona, 1992). Albert G. Hauf's *D'Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena: aportació a l'estudi de la nostra cultura medieval* (Barcelona, 1990) includes some updated biographical material and a source study for the *Regiment de la cosa pública*, and Manuel J. Peláez' *Estudios de historia del pensamiento político y jurídico catalan e italiano* (Barcelona, 1993) collects previously-published material on legal-political aspects of Eiximenis' writings.

<sup>2</sup> P. M. Càtedra García, “Francesc Eiximenis y don Alfonso de Aragón,” *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 42 (1982), 75–79; D.C. Carr and P.M. Càtedra, “Datos para la biografía de Enrique de Villena,” *La Corónica*, 11, no. 2 (Spring 1983), 293–99.

to have made a few slight modifications at this time; Daniel de Molins de Rei, in his edition of the *Regiment*, attributed the variants between the two versions to errors in the 1499 Cofman incunabulum (see note 4) or in the manuscript from which it was copied.<sup>3</sup>

There now exist only three manuscripts of the first book of the *Dotzè*, described below following the sigla established by Jaume Massó i Torrents; there is only one manuscript for book two.<sup>4</sup>

MS B, located at the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó in Barcelona (Sant Cugat 10), came from the library of the monastery at Sant Cugat del Vallès. The manuscript measures 359 x 252 mm and consists of 263 folios in gatherings of two parchment and six paper.<sup>5</sup> The text is written in two columns whose frame measures 225 x 150 mm. The manuscript is dated to the fifteenth century, but was later trimmed and rebound. There is a different scribe from 174v.b to the end. The manuscript is in very poor condition: some of the pages are badly deteriorated at the corners; a few have been patched. Much of the first folio is illegible. There are large blank spaces at the beginning of many chapters, presumably for miniatures, but these were never done.

MS C is in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Espagnol 9). It measures 370 x 335 mm and consists of 335 folios in gathers of four paper sheets enclosed by parchment. The text is written in two columns whose frame measures 250 x 170 mm. The manuscript is from the fifteenth century and was restored in 1970. The manuscript is incomplete; there is one page, or possibly two, missing from chapter 466. There is a note at the top of the first folio: "es de st pere de rodas" ("It is from Sant Pere de Rodes"). The bottom of the first folio bears a red stamp "Bibliothèque Royale," as does folio 335v. The manuscript is in generally good condition.

MS D, at the Arxiu Episcopal de Vic (number 188), measures 396 x 272 mm and contains 234 folios, all of paper. The text is written

<sup>3</sup> F. Eiximenis, *Regiment de la cosa pública*, ed. D. de Molins de Rei (Barcelona, 1927), 7–8.

<sup>4</sup> B = F. Eiximenis, *Dotzè del Crestià*, Sant Cugat MS 10, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona; C = F. Eiximenis, *Dotzè del Crestià*, Espagnol MS 9, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris; D = F. Eiximenis, *Dotzè del Crestià*, MS 188, Arxiu Episcopal de Vic; the unique codex of book two of the *Dotzè* is MS 167, Biblioteca Metropolitana de Valencia. The sigla are given in J. Massó i Torrents, "Les obres de Fra Francesc Eiximenis (1340?–1409?). Essai d'une bibliographie," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 3 (1909–1910), 607–11.

<sup>5</sup> Massó says there are 259 folios, but they are numbered to 263.

in two columns whose frame measures 255 x 175 mm. It dates from the second half of the fifteenth century. The manuscript is incomplete: the text ends in chapter 454, and the rubrics list only 458 chapters. There is a change of scribe at chapter 345. This manuscript has at the bottom of its first folio a shield with a blue field, showing an arched staircase with nine steps. The manuscript is in good condition.

Massó's list, prepared in 1909, designated as E the original, which was on display in the city hall of Valencia in the fifteenth century. It also included a MS A, housed at the Arxiu del Palau in Barcelona; it must still have been there in the 1920s, since it is mentioned by Daniel Molins de Rei in his 1927 edition of the *Regiment de la cosa pública* (13), but it is now missing and presumed lost.<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to gauge just how great a loss this is; Massó said that it was from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, which might mean that it was the oldest of the extant manuscripts. Unfortunately, neither Antoni Bulbena's edition of the first treatise of the *Dotzè* nor Molins de Rei's *Regiment* edition is based on MS A: the former is transcribed from the Lambert Palmart incunabulum of book one of the *Dotzè*, the latter from Cristòfol Cofman's incunabulum of the *Regiment de la cosa pública*.<sup>7</sup>

No one has attempted a *stemma codicum* to trace the relationships of these manuscripts. I first examined them while preparing a critical edition of chapters 1–97 of the *Dotzè*; I consulted them again more recently, while editing chapters 349–395.<sup>8</sup> While these sections obviously do not include all the evidence, they constitute approximately one-third of the first book. Thus, some preliminary observations suggest a *stemma* for MSS B, C and D. These editions use C as the base manuscript, and the *apparatus criticus* records the variants presented by the others. In general, the patterns of variation indicate that, while B and C differ relatively little, D varies greatly from both of them.

<sup>6</sup> D. de Molins de Rei, ed., *Regiment de la cosa pública*, 13. Some of the manuscripts missing from the Palau since the Spanish Civil War of 1936–39 have now reappeared at the Jesuit College in Sant Cugat, although apparently the *Dotzè* is not among them.

<sup>7</sup> F. Eiximenis, *Tractat de regiment dels prínceps e de comunitats*, ed. A. Bulbena (Barcelona, 1904); F. Eiximenis, *Dotzè del Crestià. Primer llibre* (Valencia, 1484); F. Eiximenis, *Regiment de la cosa pública* (Valencia, 1499).

<sup>8</sup> Donna M. Rogers, "A Partial Edition of Francesc Eiximenis' *Dotzè del Crestià* (Chapters 1–97)," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1987. Both edited sections will appear in the University of Girona series cited in note 1.

One of the problems in trying to establish such a *stemma* is that D is extremely defective: it has so many missing words and lines and so many misspellings that it is difficult to match its variants with those of either of the other two.

MS B also has some errors of spelling or copying, but has many good readings and, in several cases, is the only manuscript that provides a clue to the archetype: for example, in chapter 73, for “a dea Vesta” in the passage, “les vèrgens dades a dea Vesta, a qui fan traure la mare del ventre en llur poquesa, per tal que no puxen concebre,” C has “ad cavesta,” D “evanescha o destruvescha,” while the 1484 incunabulum (designated I by Massó) has “a deshonestat.” Only MS B provides the satisfactory reading, although C’s “ad cavesta” is clearly a simple misreading of the letter “c” for “e” and subsequent error in word division and interpretation, since the rest of the phrase is copied correctly.

A detailed examination of the patterns of variation bears out these observations. This can be illustrated in chapters 349 and 350, chosen at random from book one of the *Dotzè*, and contained in each of the manuscripts and the incunabulum (see appendix). These two chapters total approximately 1160 words in MS C, within which B presents 91 variants from the text of C, and D 159. Only 5 of B’s variants from C are omissions, contrasting sharply with D’s 37 omissions of text contained in C. I presents the fewest variants from C: a total of 69, of which only 1 is an omission.

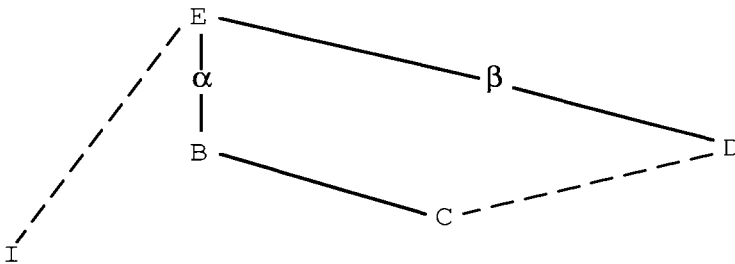
Interestingly, B and I are reasonably uniform in their variants (22 matching in the four chapters compared). Most notably, B and I match in the only omission found in I in comparison with the base manuscript. This leads me to suspect that the text of B might have been based on the original or on a carefully-done copy of it, as I claims to have been based on the original.<sup>9</sup> There are also some exclusive matches of variants between B and D (15) or D and I (7), but I do not believe these numbers are particularly meaningful because D is generally so problematic.

<sup>9</sup> “Lo qual volum, per prechs e instantia dels reverends e honorables senyors e ciutadans de la insigna ciutat de Valentia, és stat tret o empremtat del original que és en la sala de la dita ciutat, per Lambert Palmart, alamaný” (“This volume, by request and petition of the reverend and honorable lords and citizens of the distinguished city of Valencia, has been taken or printed from the original, which is in the city hall, by Lambert Palmart, a German” [my translation]), quoted by Massó, p. 609. Did “original” really mean the archetype? It is possible, if the printer knew his business and was familiar with the provenance of the manuscript.



A further obstacle is the lack of precise information about the dates of the three manuscripts. Massó attributed them all to the fifteenth century, but a thorough codicological examination for a more precise dating has yet to be done.

According to the textual evidence, however, at least one generation must be postulated between an autograph manuscript (designated E below, according to Massó's system) and the extant manuscripts, in order to account for the differences among them. Furthermore, since D varies so much from the others, its text was probably transmitted through a different "family" from that of B. On the other hand, there is reason to postulate that the incunabulum was based on the original (see note 9). Moreover, C often seems to present variants from both "families," so I will suggest that it incorporated both B and D (it is closer to B, but it could include corrections from D). Taking into account all of these considerations, I suggest the following:



According to this *stemma*, two different copies were made of E, by two different scribes, each responsible for a set of errors. The evidence in the texts suggests that B belongs to one "family," copied from  $\alpha$  (or even possibly directly from E) and that D belongs to the other, copied from  $\beta$ . As for the incunabulum, it likely came from the original. The missing MS A could well be either  $\alpha$  or  $\beta$ .

In this *stemma* I have situated C at a generational level between that of BD and that of I, because some of C's features seem to straddle the two generations; consider, for example, C's alternation between *-ts* and *-u* as the second person plural verb ending and its usual but not exclusive use of the old strong perfect forms. In contrast, B and D use only the *-ts* endings; B (and to a lesser extent D) is extremely consistent in its use of strong perfects. The incunabulum, printed in

1484, is absolutely consistent in its use of both *-u* and the new analogic weak perfect forms.

It should be noted that for the preparation of the critical edition, MS B might have been a better choice, in some ways, as the base. Its use of the older *-ts* endings for the second person plural verb forms reflects Eiximenis' own usage (C vacillates between *-ts* and *-u*).<sup>10</sup> It provides generally good readings and in several cases is the only reliable guide to the archetype (e.g., chapter 73's "dea Vesta," mentioned above). However, the manuscript itself is in poor physical condition, particularly at the beginning: the first page is virtually illegible in many places. Many of the paper folios throughout the manuscript have holes or are torn; a good many of the parchment folios have buckled and shrunk at the corners. In addition, B contains errors resulting from omission. Evidently it was copied somewhat carelessly and consequently sporadic letters, words, phrases, and occasionally several lines are missing. MS D, on the other hand, is the least reliable, with a great many omissions. Nevertheless, if the above *stemma* is correct in that D is of approximately the same date as B, D will prove to be useful.

MS C, in comparison, seems to be the most dependable overall: it appears to be a reasonably faithful version of Eiximenis' text, with occasional additions by the scribe in the form of incorporated combined variants. Examples: in chapter 75, C has "manera o matèria", where B has "matèria" and DI have "manera"; in chapter 80, C has "posar e engenrar," where BI have "engenrar," and D "posar"; in chapter 97, C has "mils dat e més," where BI have "més dat," and D "mills dat." In a few cases, the scribe has changed an unfamiliar word or a difficult phrase in an attempt to make it more intelligible to the reader. A good example of this is the case of the popular expression "coci moci" in the passage, "e faça de tot un *coci moci ben ordenat*, qui aparega obra sua bé composta e novella" (chapter 49): C has "e faça de tot un [*sic*] mescla ben ordenada"; B has "un coci mosci ben ordonat"; D, like C, omits it and has instead "una composta ben ordenada," while I has "un coci moci ben ordenat." The masculine indefinite article "un" in C before the feminine noun "mescla" suggests that the exemplar read "coci moci" (cf. BI), but the copyist

<sup>10</sup> A letter in Eiximenis' hand is reproduced in M. de Riquer, A. Comas and J. Molas, *Història de la literatura catalana* (Barcelona, 1980-88), 2:139; Eiximenis used the *-ts* endings, spelled as *-tz*.

of C changed this unfamiliar expression to the more usual “mescla,” without going back to change “un” to “una.” The word “composta” in D probably arose from the same problem.<sup>11</sup>

Another passage illustrates the kind of interpolation to be found in MS C. In chapter 63, where Coridon, king of Libya, gives rules of conduct to his son Sabinus, there are considerable differences between the text of MS C and that of the others. Here, C has several long interpolated passages absent from BDI. Furthermore, BDI all present virtually the same variant text in comparison with C. This kind of intervention on the part of the scribe of C, however, is not very frequent.

These points notwithstanding, C provides quite a reliable text. Although it contains occasional errors of omission, these can be emended readily from the other manuscripts, and C's generally good condition allows for clear readings. All in all, MS C is the most satisfactory copy available.

The incunabulum presents the version of the text that is furthest removed in time from Eiximenis' own work, but it is still useful in establishing his text. It should be remembered that its printer claimed to have worked from the original of the *Dotzè* (see note 9). While there is some evidence of modernization or standardization by the editor of I, such as systematically changing the *-ts* ending to *-u* in the second person plural verb forms and his preference for weak perfect forms instead of the old strong perfects, these alterations are easily detectable, and the incunabulum has proved extremely helpful for its interpretation of many passages.

This *stemma codicum* for book one of Francesc Eiximenis' *Dotzè* will help to clarify the relationships among the documents that constitute the extant textual evidence for this extremely important work by one of the greatest writers of the Catalan Middle Ages. The evidence examined here confirms the choice of MS C as the optimal base text, as well as the significance of each of the available witnesses. The definitive critical edition (see notes 1 and 8) will soon be available for consultation by scholars, specialists and non-specialists alike, and it is vital that the edited text be as close as possible to that of the lost archetype.

<sup>11</sup> A.M. Alcover and F. de B. Moll, in the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (Palma de Mallorca, 1988) cite “coci moci” but the only example given is this passage (3:638 s.v. *cossi*). I discuss this problem fully in “*Coci moci: A Catalan hapax legomenon?*”, *Romance Quarterly*, 37 (1990), 193–97.

## APPENDIX

### Chapter 349: Text

Capítol CCCXLVIII. E posa que lo servent o vassall és tengut al senyor en viii coses.

Hostiench en la sua *Summa de feudis* posa que lo vassall, per què és servent, és tengut al senyor en viii coses. La primera és  
5 que no consenta en res que sia en dampnatge de son senyor, axí com que li sia dat veri, o que sia pres, o perda membre o muyra, ans ho esquivarà aytant com puxa.

La segona, que no darà empatxament secret ne públich en res que son senyor vulla fer legut e honest.

10 La terça, que no revelarà son secret, ne a son adversari revelarà res que li puxa ésser contrari, ans li ajudarà e'l defensarà de son poder.

La quarta és que ço que lo senyor enten a fer, que ell no u faça impossible, ans hi farà ço que en si és, no prejudicant jamés  
15 a sa voluntat.

La quinta és que li servirà honestat envers muller e filla e envers ço qui a ell se acost, axí com a parentes o atanyents o comanades al senyor, ne farà per paraula ne per fet res que llur fama sia maculada ne del senyor, ne y consentrà ne u  
20 dissimularà si u sap; ans hi provehirà axí com deu, ne altre no y induhirà.

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1 CCCXLVIII: ccel B, ccclxiii D, ccclxix I e posa: om. BDI o: e BDI 2 viii: vuyt B 3 Hostiench: hostient BI sua: om. D 4 viii: vuyt B, huyt I és: om. D 5 que sia en: qui sia D dampnatge: damnatge I 6 que li sia: si lli era D, que si li sia I 7 aytant: tant D puxa: pusca D 8 empatxament: empaix D secret ne públich: publich o secret D 9 legut: degut D 10 adversari: revela son secret ne a son adversari B, no lli D, ne I 11 que li puxa ésser: qui li puxe esser B, qui lli sia D li: lli D e-l: ell D 13 la: le D és: om. D ço: so B, aço D lo: son D 14 hi: ho D farà ço que en si és: faça so qui en si es B, fassa D jamés: om. D 15 voluntat: volentat I 16 és: om. D filla: fills B 17 envers: vers I ço: so D *passim* qui: que I *passim* a: om. BI parentes o: parents e D atanyents: tanyents B, atenyents I 18 comanades: acomenats D paraula ne per fet res: peraules o fets D que: per que BI 19 llur: la D ne del: ni del B, del D senyor: seynor B ne y consentrà: ne y consintra B, ne la llur ne y consentira D, ne y consentira I 20 sap: sab D hi: h D altre: altri D

La sisena, que en res del seu no darà dampnatge, ne empatxarà son profit; ans axí com a hom de bona fe li procurarà son profit.

- 25 La setena, que no li darà fals ne mal consell ne contra son prou, ans si'l sap lo y desconsellarà.

La huytena, que de sa persona e de ses coses de cor e de fet li ajudarà, lunyant-lo de mal e fahent-li bones obres tots temps. [244r] A moltes altres coses ací encloses en ço qui dit és li és  
30 tengut, mas basta ço qui dit és de present. E nota que ço qui dit és no solament se deu entendre de esclau, ans encara de tot feudatari e vassall envers son senyor.

#### Chapter 350: Text

Capítol CCCL, qui posa quanta feltat hagueren los servidors passats a lurs senyors.

- La feltat de leals servidors pots considerar si penses en los passats. Atten quin servidor fo aquell qui hac Daviu, qui era  
5 appellat Joab e era mestre de la sua cavalleria, qui com tingués assetjada la ciutat e ja fos al punct que's volgués retre, ell tramés a dir secretament a Daviu que vingués, per tal que son senyor hagués la honor de la presó de la ciutat, ell tolent-la a ssi mateix.

- Segonament, pensa quin servidor fo aquell que havia Jonatas,  
10 fill de Saul, rey de Israel, qui primer ans de son senyor entrà tot sol ab ell ferir los enemichs qui eren en gran multitut, segons que appar *in primo Regum*.

23 ans axí com . . . profit: *om.* BD 25 fals ne: falç ni B ne contra: contra D 26 si'l: sin D lo y: li B, lo li I desconsellarà: consellara D 27 huytena: vuytena BD 28 tots temps: tostemps BI 29–30 a moltes altres . . . de present: *om.* D 30 ço qui: so que B 31 dit: *om.* B no solament se: nos D entendre: BI, entre C, entendra D ans encara: mas D 32 e vassall: e vassayll B, *om.* D

1 CCCL: cccli B, cccxluiii D servidors: servents D a lurs: als D 3 la feltat: feltat BI, lealtat D leals: leyls BI *passim* 4 hac: hague I *passim* Daviu: david DI *passim* 4–5 qui era appellat Joab e era mestre: de moab mestra D 5 cavalleria: cavallarie B, cavallaria D tingués: tengues B 6 la: una D *after* ciutat: *blank space* CI ja: *om.* D al: en D punct: punt BDI *passim* ell tramés: tremes D, el trames I 7 per tal: per tant D 8 la: *om.* D presó: presa D ell: *om.* D, el I tolent: tollent B a ssi: axi I 9 pensa: *om.* D fo: fon DI *passim* aquell: quell I havia: havie B *passim* 10 primer: primerament BD 11 ferir: ferir en B, farir D enemichs: enamichs B, anamichs D *passim* en: *om.* D 12 primo: primo libro BI

Terçament, quin servent fo aquell que havia Nero, emperador  
qui com lo dit Nero fugís e hagués a passar a peu sobre una  
15 bardicha d'espines. Lo dit escuder se gità a travers sobre la bardicha  
e fèu pont per passar a son senyor.

Quartament, quin servidor fo Poneas de Lorongo, qui com li  
fos dit per Phelip, rey de França, vençut al camp, que fugís ab  
ell, respós: "Tu, senyor, pus ést bé encavalcat e acompanyat,  
20 fuig e escapa, car yo en esta batalla vull morir, car no poria  
soferir de veure ne de hoir que mon senyor fos vençut jamés;"  
e aquí morí.

Quintament, quin servidor fon aquell del qual diu Valerius  
Maximus *libro iii, capitulo vii*, qui com fos pres per Anthoni,  
25 enemich de César August, e li fos la mort menaçada, respós:  
"Ne mort ne vida ne res sots Déu és bastant que yo lexàs mon  
senyor, ne fos amich teu, ne de negú qui a ell sia contrari, per  
què ardidament són apparellat tots temps de pendre mort per  
la sua amor." Per les quals paraules axí leals e faels Anthoni li  
30 perdonà e-l rehebé en gran amistat. E aquí mateix recompta  
de un altre al qual Scipio dix que li daria vida si ell confessava  
que seria cavaller de Pompeu. Diu que respós: "Yo, senyor, te  
faç moltes gràcies de açò que m'offers, mas a Déu no plàcia  
que yo confés per allonguar ma vida res que puxa ma lealtat  
35 macular e contravenir, ne encara desplaure per res a mon senyor."

Sisenament, quin servent fon aquell del qual recompta Valerius  
Maximus, *libro vi, capitulo viii*, qui com sabés que sos enemichs

---

13 que: qui D    14 qui: que B fugís c: *om.* D    a passar a peu sobre: passar per  
fugir sobra D    15 bardicha: bardissa plena D, bardissa I    escuder: scuder  
DI    gità: gitta D    travers: traver B, traves D    bardicha: bardissa BI, dita  
bardissa D    16 pont per passar a: passar D    17 Poneas: paneas B    18 Phelip:  
ffalip    B al: BI, el C, en lo D    que: qui I *passim*    19 tu: *om.* D    pus:  
puys I    ést: es DI    bé: *om.* D    20 fuig: fuyg B, fug I    escapa: scapa  
DI    yo: io BD *passim*    esta: aquesta D    21 soferir de veure ne de: veura ni  
D    vençut jamés: tensut D    23 servidor: servent BDI    fon: fo BD *passim*  
25 César August: cezar angost B, cesaragost I    la mort menaçada: manassat  
de mort D    27 negú: nugu D *passim*    a ell: lli D    28 ardidament: *om.*  
D    són: so I    tots temps: tostepmps B, *om.* D, tostepmps I    mort: la mort  
D    29 leals e: *om.* D    29-30 li perdonà e-l rehebé: lo pres D, li perdona el  
reeb I    30 aquí: qui B    31 de un: dun BI *passim*    dix: lli dix D    li daria:  
lli donaria D    32 diu que: *om.* D    33 moltes: *om.* D    de açò: daço BDI  
*passim*    34 que: *om.* D    allonguar: allargar D, alongar I    puxa: pusca  
D    lealtat: leyltat DI *passim*    35 e contravenir: *om.* D    encara: per res  
D    per: *om.* BD    36 sisenament: B sizenament    quin servent... Maximus:  
ne recita valeri D    37 *after viii*: de i altre D

li anaven engir casa per matar-lo, ell pres les vestidures e totes  
 les semblances de son senyor e féu fugir son senyor amaguada-  
 40 ment; e los enemichs, penssant que ell fos lo senyor, aucieren-  
 lo. E de semblants fets que aquests recompta Sèneca en sos  
 libres infinits cassos. Per tal diu Trogus Pompeyus, *libro iiii*, que  
 los grans senyors sovint lexaven en la mort lurs infants e les  
 coses a ells cares en [244v] mans de llurs servidors per la gran  
 45 lealtat e bonesa que y vehyen e donan exemple aquí de alguns.  
 E diu Valeri, *libro vi*, qui no donarà fe a aytais servidors, qui  
 per neguna injúria dita ne feyta a ells per lurs senyors se podien  
 irèxer contra ells. E recompte-u en special de un servent de  
 Antio, del qual diu que Antius lo tenia pres e l'havia aquella  
 50 nit vituperat sobiranament. E vehent lo dit servent que a son  
 senyor havien pres e-l volien auciore e l'haguessen mes en aquella  
 mateixa presó, dix lo servent al senyor: "Ajuda-m a desferrar",  
 e féu-ho; lo qual servent desferrat, desferrà son senyor, e féu-lo  
 fugir. E com vehés que un hom vell ho hagués vist, degollà-l e  
 55 mes-lo en un gran foch. E mentre que-l cremava, vingueren los  
 cavallers qui havien pres al dit Ancio e demanaren hon era  
 Antius. Respós lo servent: "De aquí avant, no us hajats cura  
 d'ell, car yo n'é venjats a vós e a mi: ve-l vós ací, que crema".  
 60 E com ja fos tot desfet, hagueren-ne plaer e crehegueren que  
 digués veritat per lo mal que lo dit Ancius li fahya sovint, e

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38 li anaven: anassen D engir: entorn I after pres: totes D vestidures:  
 vestedures BI 38-39 totes les: om. D 39 fugir son senyor: lo fugir D 40  
 e los: els I ell: om. D 41 de: om. BI fets que aquests recompta: recita D,  
 fets infinits recompta I Sèneca: BDI, senequa C *passim* 42 infinits cassos: om.  
 BDI 43 sovint: sovin BI *passim* la mort lurs: lurs morts lus B, llurs morts  
 llurs D 44 les: om. D llurs: lurs BDI *passim* 45 lealtat: leyalta B bonesa:  
 bonea I que y vehyen: llur D donan: dona I exemple: aximpli B, eximpli  
 D *passim* aquí: aci D 45-46 de alguns: dalguns BDI *passim* 46 e diu: diu  
 D donarà: dara B servidors: servidos D 47 neguna: nanguna D dita  
 ne feyta: dita ni feta B, feta ni dita D 47-48 a ells... irèxer: ne podien haver  
 ira D 48 irèxer: iraxer BI u: om. BD servent: servidor D 49 Antio:  
 BI ancio, ansio D Antius: ancius BI 50 sobiranament: letjament D a: om.  
 BD 52 mateixa: matexa BD presó: preson B, preso hon ell era D 53 e  
 (segon): om. B 54 vell: veyll I hagués: havia BDI degollà-l e: om. D 55 en:  
 dins D que-l: que ell B, ell D vingueren: vinqueren B 56 al: lo B al  
 dit Ancio: antius D 56-57 hon era Antius: ancius B, lo D, hon era ancius I 57  
 de aquí avant: daquiavant BI *passim*, om. D us: om. BD hajats: hajau I 58  
 yo n'é: jo he D venjats: venjat BDI ve-l vós: veus lo D 59 ja fos tot: fos  
 ja D plaer: BD pler e crehegueren: D creent 60 Ancius: D antius li  
 fahya: li deya e feya BI, lli feya D 61 llavors: lavors BI *passim*, llevors D havia:  
 haura D quant: quand I *passim*

llavors en special li havia fet davant ells lo dia passat, quant lo fèu posar en la presó.

- Lo Salvador axí mateix loha molt servent feel e'l promet de  
 65 bé aguardonar, axí com appar *Mathei XXV*. Per açò donant a  
 entendre que aytals servents deu hom exalçar e honrar e  
 reguardonar sens manera, legim de Thobies que pensant que  
 l'àngel qui havia servit a son fill per lo camí fos servent e hom  
 comú, e axí com altre, la meytat li volch donar de tot ço que  
 70 lo fill havia portat, per setisfer-li son bon servey. Car com diu  
 Sèneca, lo bon esguart e conexença del senyor fa sovint bons  
 los servidors, e la desconexença dels senyors los fa fer mal servey  
 e de mal cor, e lunyar-los d'ells de tots puncts.

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63 mateix: matex B    feel: fee B    64 bé: ben B    63–64 loha . . . appar: ho  
 ha molt aprovat que lo servent deu hom ben guardonar D    65 e honrar: *om.*  
 D    66 reguardonar: regordonar BD, guardonar I    sens: segons lur D    que  
 pensant: *added in margin of B*    67 qui: qui li B, *om.* D    67–68 fos . . . meytat:  
 e que fos altra persona quil hagues pres en comanda D    68 e: *om.* B volch:  
 volgue I    69 portat: aportat BI    setisfer-li: satisfer a D    70 Sèneca: DI,  
 senequa C, senecha B    esguart: sguart D    e conexença: a conaxensa B    71  
 los (*first*): BDI, *om.* C    dels senyors los: *om.* D    fer mal servey: mal servey fer  
 B    72 lunyar: lunyant B    los: *rep.* C    e lunyar-los . . . puncts: *om.* D



## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST POVERTY: MENDICANT LIFE IN LATE MEDIEVAL PUIGCERDÀ

*Jill R. Webster*

Puigcerdà, as its name implies, is perched on a mountain peak in Cerdanya, one kilometer from the French frontier. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries it served as a commercial center for traders to the north and south of the Pyrenees; in recent times, it has become a favorite place for the French and Catalans to spend the summer. Even in winter it is now frequented by those who use the nearby ski slopes of La Molina, but in the Middle Ages its geographical position would have made it almost inaccessible to all but a few determined travellers. Furthermore, its isolation from Catalan towns to the south made it turn for cultural and religious life to the county of Roussillon across what is now the border between France and Spain. In fact, the mendicant orders who established houses in Puigcerdà belonged to the province of Provence yet, because of difficulty of communication and national differences, they gradually acquired an almost independent existence.

In the late fifteenth century after the union of the royal houses of Castile and of Aragon, Puigcerdà was a forgotten outpost of a once prosperous region. Although Catalans from both sides of the Pyrenees still mingled here and maintained cordial relations, the peninsular monarchs increasingly viewed with concern the prospect of treachery on the part of French friars resident in the Puigcerdà convents and the ever present danger of French invasion. This attitude was exacerbated after 1462 by Juan II's mortgaging of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdanya to the French king, Louis XI, which led to a number of sieges of Puigcerdà and raids on the town by French marauders. Pau Vila attributes the lack of development of the town after this date to the untimely effects of French politics and the vulnerability of Puigcerdà, but I believe that other factors also contributed to the town's decline as a commercial center.<sup>1</sup>

As the Middle Ages drew to a close the deterioration of morale and the decadent state of the mendicant orders affected Puigcerdà

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<sup>1</sup> Pau Vila, *La Cerdanya* (Barcelona, 1926).

adversely, while the upheavals of the Reformation and the reforming zeal of the most Catholic of Kings, Philip II, extended to his most distant frontiers. For Philip, in his fear of invasion by the French and his determination to reform the religious orders, succeeded in changing the ecclesiastical face of Puigcerdà and banishing from there forever the once prosperous Franciscans. The main purpose of this study, however, is not to trace the moral and spiritual problems and vicissitudes of the religious orders but rather to indicate the struggle they had for survival in a hostile social, political, and climatic environment. It is clear that the situation of the mendicant orders is a barometer of the wider society, and accurately reflects the changing circumstances in the late Middle Ages. From the end of the fourteenth century natural disasters, economic decline, and climatic changes made it difficult for the people of Puigcerdà to keep up the level of support they had given to the religious orders fifty years earlier.

The Dominicans were the first to choose Puigcerdà as a suitable site for their friary and the last to abandon the town. Establishing themselves just before the end of the thirteenth century, they were not joined by the Franciscans until 1320 but during the intervening period Brothers of the Order of Penitence of Jesus Christ, or Friars of the Sack as they were more popularly known, continued to live out their apostolate in Puigcerdà, despite the fact that their order had been officially dissolved in 1274.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps their presence and their disappearance were even instrumental in encouraging the establishment of a Franciscan house, for the Rule of Saint Francis contained much that must have appealed to the simple life of the Sack Friars. Although the Dominicans were established some thirty years before the Friars Minor, the latter were able to recruit novices from Puigcerdà for the nearby house of Villefranche (founded at least twenty years before the Dominican house at Puigcerdà). As a result of the lobbying of local families whose sons were forced to leave their native town, the house at Puigcerdà was finally approved by the king of Majorca and the municipal councillors of Puigcerdà; it rapidly acquired properties and the economic support necessary to ensure what seemed to be phenomenal success. For the first half of the fourteenth century the Dominicans and the Franciscans were

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<sup>2</sup> See Robert I. Burns, S.J., "The Friars of the Sack in Puigcerdà: A Lost Chapter of 13th-century Religious History," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 18 (1988), 217–227.

prominent in Puigcerdà, and tradesmen of standing in the town seldom forgot the friars in their wills, frequently leaving them houses, lands, and money. In 1348, however, the Black Death which ravaged Europe had its repercussions upon the economic prosperity of the area; although the Franciscans felt secure enough to welcome the foundation of a house of the Poor Clares in the following decade, it was not long before epidemics, crop failures, earthquakes, and financial hardship affected laymen and clerics alike. Puigcerdà was never again to recover its prominent trading position, and was to undergo a series of reversals of fortune which culminated in the devastation wrought by the Civil War of 1936–39.

This study focuses mainly on the century preceding Juan II's political decision to mortgage the counties of Roussillon and Cerdanya to obtain help from France at the time of the Catalan Civil War (1462–72). The hardship which Puigcerdà and the surrounding towns endured in that period seriously weakened the area so that it was unable to sustain the quality of life it had hitherto enjoyed. The striking contrast between Puigcerdà in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a vibrant center, and its gradual decline in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is perhaps best understood by referring briefly to the position of the town just before the Black Death. In 1345 Puigcerdà had over six thousand inhabitants, making it the fifth largest town in the whole of Catalonia; the nearby episcopal center of the Seu d'Urgell had a population of about one thousand.<sup>3</sup> The production of wool was the most important industry and in 1345 there were one hundred and thirty *peraires* (those who prepared the cloth—carders, spinners, etc.) and one hundred and sixteen weavers. No other industry came close to the numbers in wool production, and many other individuals were, in addition, engaged in activities which depended largely on the wool trade for their own livelihood. Each year in early November the fair of Saint Ermengol, one of the largest in Catalonia, attracted merchants from both sides of the Pyrenees. The presence in the Plaça Major of Puigcerdà of the royal court of justice for Cerdanya under the authority of the *veguer*, attests further to the importance of the town. Unfortunately only one manual of records has survived from the *veguer's* office but the numerous

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<sup>3</sup> Carme Batlle, *L'expansió baixmedieval, segles XIII–XV*, vol. 3 of *Història de Catalunya*, ed. Pierre Vilar (Barcelona, 1988), 253 et seq. I have relied on this account for many of the details regarding the period under review.

commercial contracts contained in the fourteenth century notarial manuals are abundant evidence of the prosperity of Puigcerdà on the eve of the Black Death. Similarly, the fact that the number of notarial records for the fifteenth century drops off sharply emphasizes the decline in business and the impoverishment of the town.

The second half of the fourteenth century in Catalonia as a whole invites examination, first from an economic point of view and then in relation to the effect the deteriorating economy had on the mendicant orders. The mortality from the Black Death affected all areas of Catalonia, and in Puigcerdà the ordinary administration of contracts had to be suspended for lack of notaries, a situation which the city councillors also lamented a century later. Further outbursts of plague occurred at intervals from 1375 to 1521. Cerdanya and the adjacent areas which had been part of the Kingdom of Majorca until 1343, when they were taken over directly by the Crown of Aragon, had also suffered from the wars with Jaume of Majorca, as they were to suffer in subsequent centuries from the incursions of the French. Their position as a frontier town made them vulnerable to the political fortunes of France, the Crown of Aragon, and later Spain.

Other disasters ensued, one after another with relentless regularity: a plague of locusts which devastated crops in 1358, a shortage of manpower as a result of the large number of deaths, and the migration of workers to the cities causing a lowering of wages and a rise in prices. Natural disasters only partially understood by medieval man lessened the morale of a people who thought that God had abandoned them for their sins, or that retribution had come upon them for the sins of the Jews who were frequently accused of being responsible for inflicting this curse upon Christendom. The pogroms of 1391 and animosity against Jews caused a further deterioration in the economic situation, as the Jews had played an active and important role in commercial and professional circles. Jewish doctors were still needed and were still given licenses to practice, and there is no doubt that at least some prominent Jews did escape the pogroms. Can it be said that the crises of the end of the Middle Ages adversely affected the support given to the friars and nuns? It is difficult to be precise about the situation as no record exists of the legacies actually honored but records for Girona, Manresa, Puigcerdà, and Vic all refer to one or all of the fortune reversals experienced during the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Not all suffered equally or

at exactly the same time from epidemics, crop failures, famine, earthquakes, and economic problems, but all complained of shortage of money and laxity among the mendicant friars. In Girona and Vic, and particularly in the latter, in the early part of the fifteenth century, the city councillors constantly bewailed the deterioration of religious life and regarded it not only as a symbol of the times but as directly related to the unrest in their cities. In Manresa and Puigcerdà this seems to have been less of a problem in the early fifteenth century, but in Puigcerdà the behavior of the friars caused grave concern from the middle of the century on; and, in the case of the Franciscans, until they were forced to hand their house over to the Augustinians in 1570.

After a steady increase in popularity and property up to the Black Death and even for a few years after this date, notarial records referring to the houses of Sant Domènec and Sant Francesc in Puigcerdà first emphasize their poverty in 1367. The Franciscan chapter of that date referred to the many unpaid legacies due to the friars, a common enough complaint, but one which was heard with increasing frequency. There are no accurate figures for deaths from epidemics and although wills continue to include legacies to the friars and nuns, it is likely that in many cases, when the testators died, there was either insufficient money to pay the legacies or reluctance on the part of the heirs to meet their obligations. In 1371 the Franciscan custodian of Narbonne, Fr. Pere Segner, owed to Pere Rech, a priest who had held a benefice founded by Elisenda, daughter of Pere Agustí of Puigcerdà in the church of Sant Francesc in Puigcerdà, the considerable sum of eighty gold Aragonese florins.<sup>4</sup> He owed this money for expenses concerning a dispute between Pere Rech and the friars which had to be taken to the Holy See for settlement, but he was unable to pay his debt. The previous July he had decided to honor his obligations by selling five books, asking first that they be evaluated by Pere Calvi, an official of Cerdanya, and Francesc Fagneti, a bachelor of law. The two assessed the value of the books at sixty gold Aragonese florins, and Fr. Pere was to pay the priest with the books which Pere Rech sold to Ramon Blanch of Puigcerdà for fifty-six gold florins, two Barcelona sous. Records do not explain whether

<sup>4</sup> Puigcerdà, Arxiu Històric Comarcal, Protocols [hereafter AHC], Bernat Manresa, M.1371, fol. 13v. (February 11, 1371). For more information on Puigcerdà's notarial holdings see Sebastià Bosom i Isern and Salvador Galcerán i Vigué, *Catàleg de Protocols de Puigcerdà*, Inventaris d'Arxius Notarials de Catalunya, 4 (Barcelona, 1983).

these books were in fact handed over or whether Pere Rech accepted them as full payment, but given the contentious nature of the dispute over the benefice in the church of Sant Francesc, it is difficult to believe that the priest was satisfied with partial payment.

Relations between the friars and the parish church had, on the whole, been good in prosperous times, but as life became more difficult both parties zealously guarded their rights. Thus in 1374, the rector of the parish of Santa Maria brought a case to the Judge Ordinary of Puigcerdà against the guardian and friars of the Franciscan house for having contravened their canonical funeral rights.<sup>5</sup> A boy and his mother had been killed by a falling roof and as a parishioner of Santa Maria the boy should have been buried there, but instead was buried alongside his mother in the Franciscan cemetery after a funeral conducted by the friars. The parish claimed the canonical quarter but the friars refused to pay, and protested vigorously that they would not do so. For his part the rector stated that he wished to alter the constitutions, and force them to pay thirty pounds for the burial of the boy. The Franciscans replied that, if the matter was taken to court, they were in danger of having to pay the penalty of 1,000 florins which they could ill afford. The rector, however, was adamant, and claimed 2,000 florins from the friars for the damage he had sustained. The matter was deferred as no agreement was possible. The result of this dispute remains unknown, though Pere Rech is still officiating in the church of Sant Francesc, suggesting that good relations had been restored, in January 1379.

The poverty of the house of Sant Francesc became acute in 1385 when a chapter meeting was held to sell annual *censals* on a house, facing on to the public street and the house of Andreu Cugot and Sclarmonda, the widow of Ramon Perdemela, a candlemaker of Puigcerdà, which they own in a block referred to as "Na Perdemela."<sup>6</sup> They gave as the reason for this sale their owing money to many people as a result of expenses incurred in connection with work on their dormitory. In 1386 they sold another house, which had once belonged to a priest by the name of Bernat Soler, for the same purpose.<sup>7</sup> In 1395, in order to complete the repair work on their dormitory, the Franciscans sold the income they received on two

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<sup>5</sup> AHC, Manresa i Font, P.1374 (June 5, 1374).

<sup>6</sup> AHC, Joan de Coromines, F.1385, fol. 95v. (October 25, 1385).

<sup>7</sup> AHC, Joan de Coromines, F.1386, fol. 119r.

houses to the Dominicans, one in Puigcerdà, in the street known as "de la Morera," and the second in Fontanilles in Argolisà.<sup>8</sup> The document suggests that the Dominicans were still more solvent than the Friars Minor, thus raising the question as to whether the latter were less capable of managing their finances and were consistently living beyond their means.

In 1389 they had paid Jaume Serra, the famous Barcelona painter, 96 Aragonese florins to paint the retable for the main altar in the church of Sant Francesc.<sup>9</sup> From this time forward the Franciscans sold off property they possessed to pay their debts, yet in 1406 they were so poor that when Agnès, widow of the scribe Berenguer Esteve, complained that the Franciscans who were in charge of administering the alms to the poor of Puigcerdà left by Bernat and Jaume Amill had not given her any money, they contended that they were poorer than the widow and must drop the case, as they could not pay the costs.<sup>10</sup> A curious legacy of 1414 seems to emphasize the poverty of the friars. Bernat Palau, *sutor* of Puigcerdà, who asked to be buried in the friars' cemetery in the habit of their founder, left money to buy and provide each poor friar with a new habit, and he requested that he be buried in one of the discarded habits.<sup>11</sup> The fact that he stressed the word poor seems to suggest that there were friars who were better provided for than others, a conclusion which accords well with documents found in the chancellery registers suggesting that men from wealthy or royal backgrounds were given special treatment in Franciscan houses, notwithstanding the express directions to the contrary of the Rule of Saint Francis.<sup>12</sup> However privileged some friars might have been, the first decade of the fifteenth century seems to be the point at which both Franciscans and Dominicans faced increasing poverty, a situation which continued until well after the earthquake of 1428; yet, despite their penury, the Franciscans continued to add to their house, and in 1412 received a legacy from Ramon Vernet's father to help towards the work of the belltower.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> AHC, Bernat Montaner, F.1395-96, fol. 51v. (November 9, 1395).

<sup>9</sup> See Jill R. Webster, "Un retaule desconegut de Jaume Serra, pintor barceloní, i dades per a la història de l'art gòtic a Catalunya," *Ausa*, 14, no. 124 (1990), 5-6.

<sup>10</sup> Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó [hereafter ACA], Canc., reg. 2148, fols. 18r.-v. (January 17, 1406).

<sup>11</sup> AHC, Bernat Montaner, T.1413-19, fol. 15v. (October 12, 1414).

<sup>12</sup> See Jill R. Webster, *Els Menorets: The Franciscans from St. Francis to the Black Death (1348)* (Toronto, 1993), chap. 5.

<sup>13</sup> AHC, Ramon Mauri, F.& E.1412-13, fol. 33v.

The penurious condition of the mendicant houses after this date is emphasized by the continual pawning of books and valuables, and by the injunction of those who made donations to them that they must guarantee not to sell or pawn the gifts, provisions which may well have been forgotten once the descendants of the donor had died. In 1398 the guardian of the Friars Minor asked the city councillors whether they could give them the money to redeem the chalice and *Catholicon* which they had pawned; and the Council agreed that the treasurer should pay them the 42 and one-half florins needed for this purpose.<sup>14</sup> A few years later the Franciscans met together in a local chapter to discuss the payment of 15 libras 15 sous 6 diners to redeem a thurible or censer which they had bought and subsequently pawned, and which was reposing in Joan Palau's pawnshop.<sup>15</sup> One cannot help but wonder how much money was expended in redeeming articles which the friars had pawned, an avoidable expenditure which must have added to the financial difficulties they encountered. Both the Dominicans and the Franciscans received regular payments from the city of Puigcerdà, but these too were frequently in arrears and almost always spoken for long before they were due.

The number of friars in the two houses had declined from about twenty-two before the Black Death to just over half that number during the last decades of the fourteenth century. A chapter meeting held on January 28, 1398 was attended by all the Friars Minor, and the document states unequivocally that there were not more than the thirteen friars mentioned.<sup>16</sup> The Dominicans and the nuns of Santa Clara experienced similar declines, but while the number of friars picked up again after the temporary recovery of Puigcerdà towards the middle of the fifteenth century, the convent of Santa Clara was reduced to three or four nuns by 1500.

The late fourteenth and much of the fifteenth century were troubled by both urban and rural unrest. In the cities the uprisings of the *poble menut*, those who lived just above the subsistence level, and the incursions of armed *bandes* disturbed the peace and caused city councillors to expend large quantities of their diminishing finances on increased defense, repair of walls, and the quashing of rebellion. The Civil War of 1462 in Catalonia between the *Busca* and the *Biga* was

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<sup>14</sup> AHC, Registre de Consells, 1399-1406/7, fols. 63r.-64v. (March 8, 1398).

<sup>15</sup> AHC, Ramon Mauri, M.1405-6, fol. 11r.

<sup>16</sup> AHC, Bernat Muntaner, M.1398-99, fol. 10r. (January 28, 1398).



the culmination of a conflictive economic situation in the countryside, and the direct result of the hardship suffered by many rural workers at the hands of their overlords, both lay and clerical, whom they regarded as responsible for the agrarian crisis. These phenomena are beyond the scope of the present study but suffice it to say that the root of the troubles lay in the unstable economy and the reactions to it by those in authority. The fact that many were unable to find work and were barely subsisting created an atmosphere of unrest which added to longstanding grievances, and found expression in civil revolt. In Puigcerdà records show that the mendicants sometimes protected those who were imprisoned for causing unrest in the town. In 1399 both the Dominicans and Franciscans were cautioned against impeding the work of the *veguer* in the case against certain tonsured clerics who had been arrested in Puigcerdà for some infraction of justice, possibly joining in one of the revolts in the town.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the *Registres de Consells*, or proceedings of the Town Council, refer repeatedly to armed *bandes* in the city, and it is clear that like other towns in Catalonia Puigcerdà had its share of unrest in the later Middle Ages.

In conclusion, the hundred years, which marked the end of the Middle Ages, saw the reduction of the once-prosperous Puigcerdà to a minor border town. The mendicant orders who had thrived up to the Black Death, and for a few years afterwards, struggled to maintain their numbers, and to carry out their mission in spite of increasing poverty and, if not the indifference of their contemporaries, at least their diminishing respect. The Dominicans, perhaps because their order was not rent asunder by conflicting currents of opinion, managed to rebuild after the crisis of the fifteenth century, but the Franciscans who had refused to join the reformers or Observants fell into moral and material decay. When, in the sixteenth century, their only hope of survival lay in their integration in the Observant movement in the Province of Aragon, the Province refused to accept them for by this time their house was falling down, their mission seemed to have little purpose, and many friars led lives which negated their calling. Poverty, famine, natural disasters, and religious reform had all adversely affected the Franciscans, and the unifying elements in Spain and the fear of French invasion exacerbated the problem.

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<sup>17</sup> ACA, Canc., reg. 2125, fols. 89v.-91v. (November 17, 1399).

Sant Francesc of Puigcerdà was not wanted by the Friars Minor from either side of the Pyrenees, and was handed over to the Augustinians, while Sant Domènec managed to consolidate its position and continue in the town until 1835. The church still stands and is used as a parish church while the extant conventual building has been restored to house archives and library, and to provide a place for exhibitions and cultural events. Behind this complex, alongside the street of Saint Augustine on the site of the former convent of Sant Francesc, lie buried beneath a municipal parking lot the forgotten remains of the Franciscan house which perhaps an enlightened city government will excavate one day; during some construction work done on the parking lot in 1990 a carved *capitellum*, or capital, possibly from one of the pillars of the cloister of Sant Francesc, was found and now reposes in the entrance to the old convent of Sant Domènec.<sup>18</sup> Below the city hall a new housing complex has been built, but, resplendent in its grounds, stands the fountain of the old convent of Santa Clara, mentioned in documents of the fifteenth century, and until recently overgrown and barely visible. The mendicant orders may have disappeared but they are not forgotten as Puigcerdà once more attains, not as a commercial city but as a center of tourism, a prominent position in Catalonia: archaeological finds remind the city of its glorious ecclesiastical past.

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<sup>18</sup> Since writing the above, excavations have taken place, and parts of the old convent of Sant Francesc were found; for details see Oriol Mercadal, Sebastià Bosom, Claude Denjean, and Carme Subiranas, *Coneguem . . . els jueus i els franciscans a Puigcerdà (segles XIII–XVI)*, Col·lecció Coneguem 3 (Puigcerdà, 1994).

## THE CHURCH AND SLAVERY IN RAMON LLULL'S MAJORCA

Larry J. Simon

Church teaching on the moral legitimacy of the social, economic, and legal institution of slavery, much to the consternation and discomfort of some modern Church apologists, has been absolutely unequivocal. The institution of genuine, chattel slavery, "whereby one human being is legally owned by another, and forced to work for the exclusive benefit of his or her owner in return for food, clothing and shelter, and may be bought, sold, donated, or exchanged, was not merely tolerated but was commonly approved of in the Western Latin Church for over 1400 years."<sup>1</sup> Since the beginnings in the eighteenth century of the modern anti-slavery movement, some Catholic historians and theologians, as well as occasional popes, have labored to exonerate or gloss over the past history of common teaching.<sup>2</sup> Pope Leo XIII, who encouraged the Catholic anti-slavery movement, penned a major and supportive letter to Brazil's bishops after that country abolished slavery in 1888, and whose progressive

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<sup>1</sup> John Francis Maxwell, *Slavery and the Catholic Church: The History of Catholic Teaching Concerning the Moral Legitimacy of the Institution of Slavery* (London, 1975), 10. Slavery is, of course, only one of several forms of medieval servitude, and it is quite common in older works to blur the line separating slavery and serfdom; see, for example, Bede Jarrett, O.P., *Social Theories of the Middle Ages, 1200-1500* (New York, 1966; repr. of 1926 ed.), containing a chapter entitled "Slavery" (94-121), which begins on the subject of slavery but winds up discussing serfdom, and with no clear recognition of the transition from one to the other.

<sup>2</sup> The article by C. Williams, "Slavery (and the Church)," in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C., 1967), 13:281-82, argues that the form of slavery where the "owner exploited the labor of the slave for his own private advantage and pleasure . . . was always condemned by the Christian Church" and that the "Church contributed efficaciously, although indirectly, to the total disappearance of slavery in the strict sense in all Christian lands before the 13th century." The very next article in the same work, by C. Verlinden on "Slavery (History of)," 13:282-87, provides a more accurate and balanced view. In vol. 14 of *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1912), Paul Allard in his article "Slavery" had maintained that "in the Middle Ages, slavery, properly so called, no longer existed in Christian countries" (38), while James J. Fox, still wrestling with the subject in his treatise, "Slavery, Ethical Aspects of," had taken a very cautious approach, even granting that "slavery, when attended with a due regard for the rights of the slave, is not in itself intrinsically wrong . . ." (40).

encyclical *Rerum Novarum* contributed to altering Church teaching, nevertheless found it necessary to assert that “many of our predecessors including St. Gregory the Great, Hadrian I, Alexander III, Innocent III, Gregory IX, Pius II, Leo X, Paul III, Urban VIII, Benedict XIV, Pius VII and Gregory XVI, made every effort to ensure that the institution of slavery should be abolished where it existed and that its roots should not revive where it had been destroyed.”<sup>3</sup> Many Catholic and non-Catholic historians and theologians, especially since the official correction of Roman Catholic teaching by the Second Vatican Council (1963–65), have often drawn a distinction between past theory—the Church’s uncritical acceptance of Roman legal tradition—and an appreciation for past practices: the emancipation or ransoming of slaves, kind treatment of slaves by Christian masters, Church admonitions that title of ownership remained valid only for as long as one’s slave is properly looked after and care for, both physically and spiritually, and Church efforts to recognize the validity of slave marriages.

Paul, the converted pharisee who knew well the Mosaic law on slavery, presented several different teachings related to slavery.<sup>4</sup> Paul proclaimed that all who are baptized Christians were to be equal in the eyes of God: “there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond (slave) nor free, there is neither male nor female—for you are all one in Christ Jesus.”<sup>5</sup> This theological proclamation, however, was accompanied by moral directives on slavery which demonstrate that Paul nevertheless accepted the legal and social reality of Roman slavery. This acceptance counselled fairness and honesty by both slaves and masters, condemned kidnapping, approved of manumission, and

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Maxwell, *Slavery and the Catholic Church*, 117.

<sup>4</sup> For these introductory paragraphs, in addition to relying on Maxwell, *Slavery and the Catholic Church*, 27–43, I have found the following discussions useful: Marc Bloch, “How and Why Ancient Slavery Came to an End,” in *Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages: Selected Essays by Marc Bloch*, trans. William R. Beer (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975), 1–31; Pierre Bonnassie, “Survie et extinction du régime esclavagiste dans l’Occident du haut moyen âge (IV<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> s.),” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 28 (1985), 307–43; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, 1966), 83–106; John Gilchrist, “The Medieval Canon Law on Unfree Persons: Gratian and the Decretist Doctrines, c.1141–1234,” *Studia Gratiana*, 19 (1976), 276–301; Piero A. Milani, *La Schiavitù nel pensiero politico dei Greci al Basso Medio Evo* (Milano, 1972), 237–391; and G.E.M. De St. Croix, “Early Christian Attitudes to Property and Slavery,” *Studies in Church History*, 12 (1975), 1–38.

<sup>5</sup> Galatians 3:28; cf. Colossians 3:11, and I Corinthians 12:13. See also Dale B. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* (New Haven, 1990).

discouraged slaves from becoming disaffected with their lot; had Paul lived in the last decade of the twentieth century he might have made a great academic administrator.<sup>6</sup>

Pauline social teaching on slavery, especially the meaning of Paul's letter to Philemon, and indeed all of the early Christian teaching on slavery is widely debated. At least one religious writer has argued that although the "apostles were forced to tolerate the institution of slavery . . . on the occasion when the Empire became officially Christian in 380 A.D. there was surely an opportunity for a reconsideration by the bishops of the legal institution of slavery."<sup>7</sup> Gregory of Nyssa's fourth homily on Ecclesiastes, written c.385, was apparently a ringing and categorical condemnation of slavery; John Chrysostom, writing some fifteen years later, was a little less categorical, but nevertheless argued in his fortieth homily on I Corinthians that although slavery was the product of sin, since in Christ there was to be neither slave nor free, any Christian master holding more than one or two domestic slaves should train them to be self-sufficient and emancipate them. Unfortunately for subsequent slaves, the teachings of St. Basil and St. Augustine, both furthering Pauline thought, proved more authoritative and influential. In his monastic rule Basil required that runaway slaves be sent back to their masters, and in Augustine's exegesis on the books of Moses there is even the remarkable passage where, observing the milder law for Hebrew slaves (as opposed to Canaanite, i.e. non-Hebrew, slaves) which mandates manumission after six years of service, he argues that this is no precedent for Christian slaves who are commanded to be subject to their masters.<sup>8</sup>

Apostolic moral teaching on slavery under the conditions of pagan Roman law was converted into Church law. Slavery was widely viewed as a consequence of original sin, and war captives (after the twelfth century only non-Christian war captives), convicts, debtors, children sold by destitute parents, destitute who voluntarily sold themselves, and children unlucky enough to be born of a slave mother were all

<sup>6</sup> See I Timothy 6:1-2, Colossians 3:22 and 4:1, Titus 2:8-10 ("exhort servants to be obedient to their masters"), and most especially Ephesians 6:5-9 ("Servants, be obedient to them that are your lords according to the flesh, with fear and trembling"); cf. as well I Peter 2:13-20.

<sup>7</sup> Maxwell, *Slavery and the Catholic Church*, 18.

<sup>8</sup> Bloch, "How Ancient Slavery Came to an End," 12; Maxwell, *Slavery and the Catholic Church*, 31 and 40; and Davis, *Slavery in Western Culture*, 88 n. 82. Gervase Corcoran, O.S.A., *Saint Augustine on Slavery*, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 22 (Roma, 1985), 36, unfortunately makes only passing reference to this text.

properly and validly recognized as slaves.<sup>9</sup> Slavery was even imposed as an ecclesiastical penalty by local Church councils beginning in the seventh century; the penalty of enslavement was, for example, to be imposed not on the clerics who violated against clerical celibacy, but according to the fourth and ninth Councils of Toledo (633 and 655), as well as the Council of Pavia (1012), against their offspring. A subsequent decree of Urban II from the Synod of Melfi in 1089, later incorporated into Gratian's *Decretum*, granted secular authorities the power to enslave the wives of clerics.<sup>10</sup>

Various papal briefs and four general councils—the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils of 1179 and 1215, and the first and Second Councils of Lyons in 1245 and 1274—all advocated slavery for the crime of assisting the Muslim enemies of crusading Christians; this provision became an established part of canon law and was incorporated into the *Decretals* of Gregory IX. The Fourth Lateran Council, presided over by Innocent III, excommunicated and anathematized:

those false and impious Christians who, in opposition to Christ and the christian people, convey arms to the Saracens and iron and timber for their galleys. We decree that those who sell them galleys or ships, and those who act as pilots in pirate Saracen ships, or give them any advice or help by way of machines or anything else, to the detriment of the holy Land, are to be punished with deprivation of their possessions and are to become the slaves of those who capture them.<sup>11</sup>

Slavery was considered an appropriate punishment for traitors, since slavery, in the words of the civil compilation of the *Siete Partidas*, begun at Alfonso el Sabio's behest, "is most vile and despicable thing that can exist among men," and "something which men naturally abhor."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Maxwell, *Slavery and the Catholic Church*, 45–46; and Pijper, "Christian Church and Slavery," 679–82.

<sup>10</sup> Maxwell, *Slavery and the Church*, 37.

<sup>11</sup> *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1: *Nicaea I to Lateran V*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, S.J. (London, 1990), constitution 71, 270: "Excommunicamus praeterea et anathematizamus illos falsos et impios christianos, qui contra ipsum Christum et populum christianum Saracenis arma, ferrum et lignamina deferunt galearum; eos etiam qui galeas eis vendunt vel naves, quique in piraticis Saracenorum navibus curam gubernationis exercent vel in machinis aut quibuslibet aliis aliquod eis impendunt consilium vel auxilium in dispendium Terrae sanctae, ipsarum rerum suarum privatione mulctari, et capientium servos fore censemus." Cf. also the decrees of Lateran III, canon 24, p. 223; Lyons I, constitution II.5, p. 300; and Lyons II, constitution I.1c, p. 309.

<sup>12</sup> *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. Josef de Vargas y Ponce, 5 vols.

Although Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure, through the influence of Aristotle's views on slavery, moved Church teaching even further away from the position it holds today,<sup>13</sup> a substantial list of teachings and decrees, and perhaps more importantly, a tradition of practice, actively promoted the charitable act of slave manumission. This charity was not to extend to Church-held slaves (as opposed to privately-held slaves of men holding church offices) who were not, on the principle of the inalienability of church property, to be manumitted, nor did it occasion a reexamination of church teaching during the course of the High and Late Middle Ages.

An important question concerns how, in any specific time and place—and it is supposed that the answer will vary widely by time and place—the various entities comprising the Church transmitted teaching into practice. Frederik Pijper showed long ago that the Church in the early Middle Ages held slaves and even utilized mutilation as punishment against them; and Marc Bloch wrote that prior to the millennium “individual members of the clergy, as well as the Church itself, which was a very large landlord as an institution, possessed a great many slaves.”<sup>14</sup> Although it did not overturn established doctrine, given its charitable concerns, to what extent did the thirteenth-century Church, for example, buy, sell, own, and utilize

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(Paris, 1851), IV.v: “Servidumbre es la mas vil et la mas despreciada cosa que entre los homes puede seer; porque el homè, que es la mas noble et libre criatura entre todas las otras criaturas que Dios fizo, se torna por ella en poder de otri, de guisa que pueden facer dél lo que quisieren como de otro su haber vivo ó muerto”; and VII.xxxiii.13.4–5 (xxxiv.5 in some editions): “servidumbre es cosa que aborrecen los homes naturalmente.” The former comes from a title on the marriage of slaves, while the latter from a final section on the rules of law. Partida IV, title xxi contains 8 laws on slavery; the third law calls for the enslavement to the Church of the progeny of priests, and the fourth law incorporates the ecclesiastical mandate on enslaving those who aid Muslims. See also María del Carmen Carlé, “La servidumbre en las Partidas,” *Cuadernos de historia de España*, 12 (1949), 105–119, and J.A. Doering, “La situación de los esclavos a partir de las *Siete Partidas*,” *Folia Humanistica*, 4 (1966), 337–61.

<sup>13</sup> Several of the works cited above cover, at least in a cursory fashion, the teachings of Aquinas and Bonaventure on slavery. I have not yet seen the forthcoming work by Stephen F. Brett, *Slavery and the Catholic Tradition: Rights in the Balance* (New York, 1994), though presumably parts are based on his “The Justification of Slavery: A Comparative Study of the Use of the concepts of *jus* and *dominium* by Thomas Aquinas, Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto in Relationship to Slavery,” unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1987. See also John B. Killoran, “Aquinas and Vitoria: Two Perspectives on Slavery,” in *The Medieval Tradition of Natural Law*, ed. Harold J. Johnson (Kalamazoo, 1987), 87–101.

<sup>14</sup> Pijper, “Christian Church and Slavery,” 682 and 694; Marc Bloch, “How Ancient Slavery Came to an End,” 13.

Christian and non-Christian slaves? The question is doubly interesting because the thirteenth century is supposedly well past the period of transition to feudalism, yet well before the alleged "revival" of slave trading in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Also, did the congeries of corporations and individuals constituting the institutional Church in the thirteenth century lead the way in the manumission of slaves, or pursue policies which inevitably led society in new directions when it came to slaves and slave-holding? Although Charles Verlinden wrote two massive and detailed studies on medieval slavery and slave-holding, containing some relevant information on both questions, and William D. Phillips and Jacques Heers have both contributed useful surveys on medieval slavery, local studies are needed, by scholars familiar with archival materials, if we are to understand more fully the relationship between the Church and slavery in the High Middle Ages and Renaissance.<sup>15</sup> For all that has been written on the Church's teachings on slavery, comparatively little is known about the actual historical reality of ecclesiastical practice.

The island-kingdom of Majorca offers an ideal setting, almost a laboratory model, in which to study the Church and the institution of slavery. Majorca was conquered from the Muslims in 1229–1232 by an international crusade army led by Jaume I of Aragon-Catalonia, who subsequently visited the island only once between the years of the conquest and his death in 1276, and the Church played a key role in the colonization, settlement, and eventual transformation of Majorca from an Islamic into a Christian society. Located in the center of the Western Mediterranean, Majorca was a crossroads kingdom whose merchants, as acquisitive as any in Christendom, not only participated in the sale of native, conquered Muslims, but in the on-going international slave trade of the thirteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Verlinden, *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe Médiévale*, vol. 1: *Péninsule Ibérique—France*, vol. 2: *Italie—Colonies italiennes du Levant—Levant latin—Empire byzantin* (Brugge, 1955; and Gent, 1977); Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis, 1985), esp. 33–35, 43–65, 88–113; and Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques au moyen âge dans le monde méditerranéen* (Paris, 1981). See also the citations in Joseph C. Miller, *Slavery: A Worldwide Bibliography 1900–1982* (White Plains, New York, 1985), esp. 309–23 and 385–87, nos. 4139–4331 and 5138–5165.

<sup>16</sup> For background on Majorca see the ample references in J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250–1516* (Oxford, 1976–78); idem, *Readers and Books in Majorca, 1229–1550*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1992); David Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge, 1994), with bibliography on 266–83; Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, "Aspects internationaux de Majorque durant les derniers siècles du Moyen Age," *Mayurqa*, 11 (1974), 5–52; *Historia de Mallorca*, ed. J. Mascaró Pasarius, 10



Majorcan Muslims living under Christian rule were denied communal privileges analogous to Muslims in nearby Valencia,<sup>17</sup> and the island, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, apparently had a very large slave population.<sup>18</sup>

The evidence from Majorca is unequivocal that the Majorcan Church and individual churchmen held slaves and were active participants in the sale and purchase of slaves. Most of the evidence is unpublished but documents transcribed from the archives of the Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria la Real, now housed in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, and published in a magnificent *Diplomatari*, readily indicate the thirteenth century reality. On January 22, 1272, Joana Genovés, wife of Guillem Pontreni, "for the advantage of my soul and for remission of my own and my parents' sins," donated to Santa Maria la Real her white Muslim slave named "Gayt, son of her slave Abbone."<sup>19</sup> From the document, however, it is neither clear what the age of the donated slave was, nor to what extent the donation might separate son from mother. On August 23,

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vols. (Palma, 1978; repr. of 5 vol. ed. publ. 1971–74); and Francisco Sevillano Colom and Juan Pou Muntaner, *Historia del puerto de Palma de Mallorca* (Palma, 1974).

<sup>17</sup> For the status of Majorca's post-conquest Muslims, see Elena Lourie, "Free Moslems in the Balearics under Christian Rule in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 624–49; Guillem Rosselló Bordoy and J. Sastre Moll, "El mudejarismo en Mallorca en la época de Ramon Llull," *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* [hereafter *BSAL*], 39 (1982), 257–63; Ricardo Soto Company, "La población musulmana de Mallorca bajo el dominio cristiano (1240–1276)," *Fontes Rerum Balearium*, 2 (1978), 65–80, 549–64; and idem, "Sobre mudeixars a Mallorca fins a finals del segle XIII," in *Estudis de prehistòria, d'història de Mayurqa i d'història de Mallorca dedicats a Guillem Rosselló i Bordoy* (Mallorca, 1982), 195–221.

<sup>18</sup> For slavery and the slave-trade of Majorca see Soto Company, "El primer tràfic esclavista a Mallorca," *L'Avenç*, 35 (1981), 60–65; Francisco Sevillano Colom, "Cautivos sardos en Mallorca siglo XIV," *Studi Sardi*, 21 (1968), 147–74; idem, "Demografia y esclavos del siglo XV en Mallorca," *BSAL*, 34 (1973–75), 160–97; Charles Verlinden, "La Esclavitud en la economía medieval de las Baleares, principalmente en Mallorca," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, 67–68 (1982), 123–64; idem, "Une taxation d'esclaves à Majorque en 1428 et la traite italienne," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 42 (1972), 141–87; idem, *L'Esclavage*, 2:346–53; Gabriel Ensenyat Pujol, "Algunes mesures restrictives contra l'importació d'esclaus turcs a Mallorca (1462–1481)," *BSAL*, 41 (1985), 199–206; and Pedro de Montaner Alonso, "Aspectos de la esclavitud en Mallorca durante la Edad Moderna," *BSAL*, 37 (1979–80), 289–328.

<sup>19</sup> *Diplomatari del Monestir de Santa Maria de la Real*, vol. 1: 1232–1360, ed. Pau Mora and Lorenzo Andrinal (Palma, 1982), no. 90, 320–21: "ego Iohanna Ianuensis, vxor Guillemi de Pontrenio, consilio voluntate et assensu eiusdem viri mei, ob remedium anime mee et in remissione peccatorum meorum et parentum meorum dono inter viuos Deo et operi monasterii Sancte Marie de Regali, in manu et posse uestri fratris Oberti operarii dicti monasterii recipientis nomine et ratione dicti operis, vnum meum sarracenum album nomine Gayt, filium Abbone sarracene mee."

1281 the monastery purchased Ibrāhim ("Abrafim"), a Muslim slave, from Arnau de Pujals, for seventeen and one-half royal Valencian pounds. Three years later the monastery purchased a Muslim slave named 'Abd al-Ḥaqq ("Abdalfach") from Guillem Cuquet of Barcelona, for the price of thirteen and one-half Valencian sous.<sup>20</sup> Any suggestion that slavery on Majorca was merely domestic and personal in the thirteenth century rather than also collective and agricultural is perhaps disproven by a charter extant in the Cistercian materials. On January 20, 1282, Jaume de Pareres, a Cistercian brother who was also procurator for King Jaume II of Majorca, granted a license to Bernat Valentí and Arnau Burgès to purchase up to twelve Muslims and twelve oxen to aid work at the *alqueria* of Beniatzar.<sup>21</sup>

The extant parchments in the Dominican archives document first and foremost the pervasiveness of Majorcan slavery, but also ecclesiastical slave holding. On December 16, 1243 Renovard de Malbosch and his wife purchased one female and five male Muslims from Lantelm de Curia and his wife.<sup>22</sup> A little less than four years later Jaume Cecha Dinar approved the sale of a Muslim named "Liut" which Guido Spinola had made to Obriga de Riba.<sup>23</sup> On August 22, 1259 Guillem de Ulmo sold to Vital Baiulo a Muslim named Tunis for ten Valencian pounds.<sup>24</sup> Numerous subsequent charters from the thirteenth century detail slave sales among Christian lay persons.<sup>25</sup> Of greater importance, for purposes here, is the document dated July 30, 1295, where Ponç Felç sold to Pere Scuder, prior of the

<sup>20</sup> *Diplomatari*, no. 113, 360; and no. 122, 371-72 (July 1, 1284).

<sup>21</sup> *Diplomatari*, no. XXII, 633-34: "quod possitis emere sarracenos et boues qui defuerint usque ad complementum .xii. sarracenos et .xii. parium bouum, ad opus laboracionibus alquerie de Beniatzar."

<sup>22</sup> Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional [hereafter AHN], Clero, pergaminos, carpeta 79, no. 15.

<sup>23</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 81, no. 14 (December 12, 1247).

<sup>24</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 84, no. 18.

<sup>25</sup> See for example the June 22, 1267 sale of a black Muslim named Muḥammad (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 86, no. 5); the July 27, 1267 sale of "Abdulhuahit," described as a white Muslim (AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 86, no. 8); the parchment containing three documents, two of which are slave purchases in Valencia by Guillem Febrer of Majorca (carp. 86, no. 6); the November 17, 1273 purchase, recorded in Romance rather than Latin, again by Guillem Febrer, of a Muslim captive named Muḥammad from Pere Martí of Valencia for 103 Alfonsine morabatins (carp. 87, no. 4); the May 17, 1281 sale of two white male Muslims (carp. 87, no. 20); the August 9, 1292 sale of a white Muslim named Ibrāhim (carp. 90, no. 15); the August 25, 1296 sale of a white Muslim named Mūsā (carp. 91, no. 18); and the November 8, 1301 sale of rights to a white Muslim slave named Faṭīma (carp. 94, no. 14).

Dominicans of Majorca, and to the convent itself a white baptized slave named Guillem for twelve Valencian pounds.<sup>26</sup> A little less than six years later, the Dominicans purchased yet another baptized slave; this time they paid to Mateu de Truiars, a cleric of Barcelona, fourteen Majorcan pounds for a slave named Bertran.<sup>27</sup> Did the Dominicans have a policy of only purchasing baptized slaves? The first slave that they purchased was in the process of acquiring his freedom; did the Dominicans intend to manumit him before he had paid off his redemption price, and did they intend to eventually free the second slave they purchased or allow him to purchase his freedom? The documentary record in these cases is silent, though other documents, not directly related to the Dominicans, but surviving nevertheless in their archives, do pertain to slave manumission.

Guillem Hug in his testament of December 12, 1239, freed his baptized slave Maria, or, rather, provided for her freedom upon his death; for Maria's sake, it should be noted that Guillem pronounced himself gravely ill.<sup>28</sup> Several slaves were able to purchase their freedom; Berenguer the Baptized acquired his freedom for six Valencian pounds from Mestre (*Magister*) Viçent, described as precentor or provost of the Majorcan see (*precentor maioricensis*).<sup>29</sup> Being baptized was not, however, a prerequisite for purchasing one's freedom. In 1247 a Muslim named 'Ali was able, for eighty Valencian sous to buy his freedom from Sibilia and her husband Mir de Palacio.<sup>30</sup> In a document of the early fourteenth century, located in the Archives of the Kingdom of Majorca, a Muslim slave woman "Axona" (Romance diminutive of 'A'isha?) is able, with the aid of her husband and mother,

<sup>26</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 91, no. 12: "Sit omnibus notum quod ego Poncius felix vendo tibi fratri petro scuderi priori conuentus fratrum predicatorum maiorice et eidem conuenti unum babbtizatum album nomine G. en talla precio duodecim librarum quas a uobis habui et recepi."

<sup>27</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 94, no. 8 (April 10, 1301). "Ego Matheus de truiars clericus de barchinona vendo vobis fratri petro bennacor priori conuentus fratrum predicatorum maioricensis ementi nomine proprio et nomine dicti conuentus unum babbtizatum laurum nomine Bertrandum precio quattordecim librarum regaliū maioricarum minutorum monete perpetue quas numerando a uobis habui et recepi."

<sup>28</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 78, no. 17: "Item volo quod Maria babbtizata sit alforia et libera sine contradiccione alicuius."

<sup>29</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 85, no. 18 (April 16, 1265): "Sit omnibus notum quod ego Magister Vicentius precentor maioricensis profiteor et in ueritate recognosco tibi Berengario babbtizato seruo et captiuo meo te uenisse mencio at trilliam et compositionem racione redempcionis et alfurrie tue pro qua dedisti michi et soluisti sex libras regaliū Valencie."

<sup>30</sup> AHN, Clero, pergs., carp. 80, no. 22 (March 21, 1247).

both free, to obtain her freedom on pledge of twenty gold doblas.<sup>31</sup> An interesting though unanalyzed question is to what degree baptism, though not a precondition for either, made it easier for a slave to purchase his or her freedom or increased the likelihood of a slave being freed by a testator. In the will of Pere Calafat, for example, Pere freed his baptized slaves Pere and Romia, brother and sister, further granting Pere ten sous and Romia twenty sous.<sup>32</sup> One of the more striking cases of religious coercion can be found in the will of Guillem Company. Guillem wished his Muslim slave, if she desired baptism, to be freed; but if she did not choose to become a Christian, she was to remain in servitude for another four years.<sup>33</sup> This particular document takes on added human poignancy when Guillem revealed that his slave was pregnant with his child.

These scattered documents provide great insight into Majorcan slavery, yet, given that most emanate from ecclesiastical archives, it might be argued that these sources overestimate the presence of the Church and churchmen. There are, however, fifteen variously titled registers, containing relevant information, which survive in the royal patrimony section of the state historical archives in Palma. This documentation, by and large devoted to the rural half of the island controlled by the monarchy after the conquest, and emanating from a civil rather than an ecclesiastical depository, should underrepresent or at least not overrepresent Church slave holding.<sup>34</sup> In 1243, however, Fray Berenguer de Cervera, commander of the Hospital of Sant

<sup>31</sup> Palma, Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca [hereafter ARM], pergamins, reial patrimoni, segle XIV, no. 64 (December 20, 1306): "sit omnibus notum quod ego axona sarracena que fui johannis de monteclaro et nos sayt sarracenus liber maritus dicte axone et alia sarracena libera mater dicte axone amore et precibus ipsius et ut a iugo captiuitatis et seruitutis realis et personalis reddimatur nos omnes tres, uterque nostrum insolidum, confitemur et recognoscimus nos in comanda tenere a te jucef allun domino mei dicte axone et tuis viginti duplas boni et fini auri et recti pensi quas tibi damus et dare et soluere promittimus iuxta formam infrascriptam pro libertate et alforia mei dicte axone renunciando excepcioni promitionis et dationis per nos tibi non facte et comande in nos non recepte et excepcioni doli. . . ." It is difficult to reconstruct the Arabic Muslim names from the Latin garble of Romance-speaking scribes, yet the effort seems the most historically accurate thing to do and may restore for posterity a modicum of dignity to the slaves.

<sup>32</sup> *Diplomatari*, no. 84, 310–13 (August 18, 1267).

<sup>33</sup> ARM, pergs., reial patrimoni, s. XIII, no. 205 (May 14, 1279?): "volo quod si dicta soffra sarracena mea babbtizari se voluerit quod sit libera francha et alforra a me et meis, et si factam babbtizatam noluerit seruiat per quattuor annos. . . ."

<sup>34</sup> The registers are found in ARM, Reial Patrimoni, Escrivania de Cartes Reials [hereafter ARM, RP, ECR]; they are referred to as the ECR because they relate to the royal patrimony, although few royal charters are among the documents. On

Andreu, purchased for sixty Melgorian sous a baptized slave Jaume from Garcia Ferrer and his wife Raimunda; Berenguer subsequently sold, with the slave's consent, half of the legal right to Jaume, to a Ramon de Costogia, for the same sixty Melgorian sous.<sup>35</sup> That same year Arnau de Apiera, a canon of Majorca's Cathedral, purchased a white Muslim slave Ibrāhīm from Arnau de Girona for eighty-eight Melgorian sous.<sup>36</sup>

In 1247 Fray Tomas Pou, of the Praemonstratensian monastery at Bellpuig, purchased a black Muslim named Bilāl for eleven Melgorian pounds, and a white Muslim named 'Umar for 140 Melgorian sous, both from Bernat Espanyol.<sup>37</sup> Later in the same year Bernat Ticiany sold to Bernat Sacristà, a precentor or provost of the Majorcan see, a white Muslim named "Asmet" for 150 Melgorian sous. Subsequently, Bernat sold a male Muslim slave to a Jewish buyer in 1256, and the next year he purchased from Arnau Tintor for twenty-eight pounds

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occasion the registers have been cited as "*Civitatis et partis foraneae*" or as the "*Protocolos de (o Contratos de) Civitatis et partis foraneae*." One occasionally finds them referred to as notarial registers, perhaps because they were found in the Colegio Notarial in Palma before they were deposited in the ARM, or perhaps because that is their most familiar equivalent, though they are not registers kept by individual public notaries. They represent a later binding together of diverse materials and fragments rather than a complete or orderly compilation by contemporaries. It is impossible to date many of the documents and some folio sections follow no observable chronological order. The numbers of the registers with the (inaccurate) inclusive dates on the archival handlists are 341 (1232–1233), 342 (1239–1261), 343 (1244–1252), 344 (1254–1257), 345 (1259–1257), 346 (1262–1323), 347 (1266–1275), 348 (1270–1276), 349 (1277–1287), 350 (1280–1282), 351 (1285–1288), 352 (1288–1290), 353 (1290–1294), 354 (1294–1297), and 355 (1297–1301). The hands of the many scribes are among the worst I have yet encountered, much worse than anything one finds, for example, in the Genoese notarial or Aragonese royal registers; and no scholar who has worked with them has failed to remark on the paleographical difficulties. Apparently to protect the registers—though they are on parchment, not paper—the ARM allows researchers to examine only microfilm copies and not the originals. Antonio Mut Calafell, former Director of the ARM, has written that "*esta documentación es con frecuencia mal citado por los investigadores por desconocimiento del origen de la misma*" and also that the documentation "*merecería un estudio realizado en profundidad*" (*Guía Sumaria del Archivo del Reino de Mallorca* [Madrid, 1984], 35). The earliest registers are full of slave sales, and a wide range of commercial documentation; the later registers are by and large devoted only to land transactions.

<sup>35</sup> ARM, RP, ECR 342, fol. 167 and fol. 167v. Soto Company, "Población Musulmana," 558–64 has noted and catalogued by year (with no attempt to determine exact date) 164 slave sales from the earliest registers. Although I have in every instance examined the original (microfilm), I will note any earlier citations of his; these two documents are Soto Company, nos. 51 and 52.

<sup>36</sup> ARM, RP, ECR 342, fol. 170; Soto Company no. 53.

<sup>37</sup> ARM, RP, ECR 343, 152 and 152v.; Soto Company nos. 84 and 85.

and five sous Melgorian a white Muslim Yūsuf and his wife 'A'isha.<sup>38</sup> In 1247 a Mestre Joan, identified as a provost of the Majorcan see, purchased a black female Muslim named "Maria" for seven pounds eight sous Melgorian.<sup>39</sup> The same Mestre Joan appears numerous times in these documents, subsequently purchasing a Muslim mulatto male named "Sait" for seventy-five Melgorian sous, a male Muslim mulatto for seven pounds Melgorian, and a white Muslim named Muḥammad for five and one-half pounds Melgorian. In 1256 Joan sold a female slave for sixty-five sous to a Jewish buyer.<sup>40</sup>

In 1247 Fray Guillem de Ager, commander of the Templar House, sold to Bernat Tolzano a white female Muslim named "Assoza" for 100 Melgorian sous.<sup>41</sup> This is the only reference yet found in these registers to the Templars and slavery, but it is reasonable to assume that the Templars owned numerous slaves. The Templars, who provided the sixth largest contingent of knights for the conquest of Majorca, received approximately 1/25th of the island in the subsequent land-division, and Templar slaves on the peninsula were so common that they were occasionally placed under the care of a Templar known as "keeper of the captives."<sup>42</sup> A 1289 inventory of Templar lands in the Crown of Aragon, edited by Miret y Sans, listed the house at Montesa as having forty-eight male slaves and one female slave, Orta having twenty-five male slaves, Mirabet forty-three Muslim and two baptized slaves, Tortosa twenty slaves, and Gardeny forty-three slaves. In all, the thirteen named commanderies owned 267 slaves.<sup>43</sup>

In his 1276 testament Mestre Joan, provost of the Majorcan see and presumably the same Joan who appears in the slave sales three decades earlier, wills that his two female baptized slaves and the male son of one of the two slave be set free upon his demise. Reference is also made to an unspecified number of Muslim slaves not to be freed. Joan leaves to Bernat de Vinero, his "natural" or likely illegiti-

<sup>38</sup> ARM, RP, ECR 343, fol. 124v.; 344, fol. 70v; and 344, fol. 182v. The first is Soto Company no. 103, while the last two are not catalogued by him.

<sup>39</sup> ARM, RP, ECR 343, fol. 192; Soto Company no. 111.

<sup>40</sup> ARM, RP, ECR 343, fols. 205, 207, 210 (Soto Company nos. 121, 122, 126); and 344, fol. 65v.

<sup>41</sup> ARM, RP, ECR 343, fol. 159v.; Soto Company no. 89.

<sup>42</sup> A.J. Forey, *The Templars in the 'Corona de Aragón'* (London, 1973), 31–33, 286, 304 n. 198.

<sup>43</sup> J. Miret y Sans, "Inventaris de les cases del Temple de la Corona de'Aragó," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 6 (1911), 62–69.

mate son ("filio meo naturali"), the alqueria of Porreres "with all its termini, appurtenances, and its rights, as well as its vineyards and all goods moveable, immoveable, and able to move of themselves, and with male and female Muslims ("sarracenis et sarracenabus") and cows and beasts large and small and with its apparatuses and all other things located there." Bernat also left an alqueria located in the parish of Bunyola "with cows, male Muslims, and female Muslims."<sup>44</sup> None of Majorca's bishops appear in these registers as slave owners, but I have not yet seen their testaments, and neighboring bishops elsewhere in the thirteenth century are recorded as slave owners. The testamentary inventory of Bishop Arnau in Valencia in 1248, amidst various household items, listed the bishop's slave, a Muslim woman.<sup>45</sup> In the 1278 testament of Pere of Castellnou, bishop of Girona, he enfranchised one Mateu, a baptized slave, yet ordered his other slaves, both "baptized and Muslim," to be sold; and in 1259, Bertrand of Berga, bishop of Elne, near Perpignan in Roussillon, and part of the lands of the Crown of Majorca after 1276, disposed of eight slaves, including six "pagans," in his 1259 will.<sup>46</sup>

The full range of the various arms of the Majorcan Church were apparently active participants in owning, buying, and selling slaves. The Franciscans of Majorca are about the only religious order not found actively owning and dealing in slaves; their archives for Majorca unfortunately have not survived, and since they did not own extensive rural property on the island they appear very seldom in the royal patrimony registers. Jill Webster has documented, however, the Franciscans and especially the Poor Clares as assimilating to the wider Church and wider society and elsewhere holding slaves; and she has found one royal document concerning slavery and the Majorcan Franciscans.<sup>47</sup> It might be argued that the Majorcan Church, perhaps overly-influenced by the prevalence of slavery on the island, was somehow unique or unusual in holding slaves in the thirteenth century, but evidence of ecclesiastical slave holding survives elsewhere. Although his study mainly concerned the fifteenth century, Miret i

<sup>44</sup> ARM, RP, ECR 348, fols. 346r.-349v. (April 26, 1276).

<sup>45</sup> Robert I. Burns, S.J., *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 22 and 380 n. 34.

<sup>46</sup> Verlinden, *L'Esclavage*, 1:303 and 754.

<sup>47</sup> See Jill R. Webster, *Els Menorets: The Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from St. Francis to the Black Death* (Toronto, 1993), 123, 193, and 236; and idem, "Unlocking Lost Archives: Medieval Catalan Franciscan Communities," *Catholic Historical Review*, 66 (1980), 549 and n. 42, citing ACA, Canc., reg. 72, fol. 57 (February 24, 1286).

Sans documented a Barcelona cleric Guillem de Villa, the Templars again, the cleric Arnau de Vernet who was Dean of the Cathedral of Lleida, the canon Guillem de Banyeres of Barcelona Cathedral, and the Hospitallers of Lleida as all buying, selling, or missing run-away slaves in the thirteenth century; a list for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries culled from his study would be longer still.<sup>48</sup>

Also recorded in the royal patrimony registers is the sale in November of 1247 by Vidal Picaperes of a Muslim slave named 'Ali of Bugia to Ramon Llull for 117 sous. This is not the famed Ramon Llull, but rather his father who apparently accompanied Jaume I on the Majorcan crusade and subsequently settled on the island.<sup>49</sup> In October or November 1259, however, the younger Ramon Llull named procurators to recover a white baptized slave named Bernat, described as being short, with "two broken teeth and thick, black non-curly hair."<sup>50</sup> When the *Vita* of Ramon Llull, compiled c. 1311 in Paris by admirers, reports that Llull purchased a slave, c. 1265, from whom he "learned the Arabic language," it was obviously not, as J.N. Hillgarth rightly pointed out, the first slave Ramon had owned.<sup>51</sup>

The *Vita* is silent on events of the next nine years, but reports in detail on one of the most well known events of Llull's life. While Ramon was away his slave-tutor "blasphemed the name of Christ," whereupon Ramon, "impelled by a great zeal for the Faith, hit the Saracen on the mouth, forehead, and face."<sup>52</sup> The Muslim, now

<sup>48</sup> See Joaquín Miret y Sans, "La Esclavitud en Cataluña," *Revue Hispanique*, 41 (1917), 1-109 (4-17 for the thirteenth century).

<sup>49</sup> ARM, RP, ECR 343, fol. 118r.; cited by Soto Company no. 72; idem in "Alguns casos de gestió «colonial» feudal a la Mallorca del segle XIII," *Estudi General*, 5-6 (1985-86) [= *La Formació i expansió del feudalisme català*, ed. Jaume Portella i Comas, Actes del col·loqui organitzat pel Col·legi Universitari de Girona (8-11 de gener de 1985)], 345-69 (361), a study of four Majorcan families, including the Llull family and Ramon's in-laws, the Picany family; and also by J.N. Hillgarth, "Ramon Llull's Early Life: New Documents," *Mediaeval Studies*, 53 (1991), 337-47 (339 n. 13).

<sup>50</sup> Hillgarth, "Early Life," 339 n. 14: "R. Lul, filius R. Lul, facio vos F. de Granata et . . . P[etrum] procuratores meos ad servum recuperandum unum baptizatum meum album, nomine Bernardum, et habet duos dentes fractos . . . et habet capillos negros et plans et enim[?] spissos, et [est] de statura parva." The document is found in ARM, RP, ECR 343, fol. 118r.; and was cited by Soto i Company, "Alguns casos," 361.

<sup>51</sup> Hillgarth, "Early Life," 340. Llull's in-laws also owned slaves, as almost all Majorcans of any means did; see the document abstracts in Soto i Company, "Alguns casos," 364 and 366.

<sup>52</sup> All translations quoted here are those of Anthony Bonner from his discussion and complete translation of the Latin *Vita*, found in the introductory section to his *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1985), 1:13-48, esp. 21-



described as "extremely embittered," attacked Ramon with a sword, and Ramon "as it pleased God" was able to partially deflect the sword, sustaining only a wound in the stomach. It was Ramon who kept servants or family members from killing the slave, though he did permit them "to tie him up and put him in jail." The *Vita* describes Ramon as vacillating between fear for his life, should he set the slave free, and appreciation for the man "by whose teaching he now knew the language he had so wanted to learn." Retreating to a monastery, where he prayed for apparently ungranted guidance for three days, Llull "returned home full of sorrow." Returning by way of the prison, Llull discovered the slave had hanged himself, and Ramon "therefore joyfully gave thanks to God not only for keeping his hands innocent of the death of this Saracen, but also for freeing him from terrible perplexity."

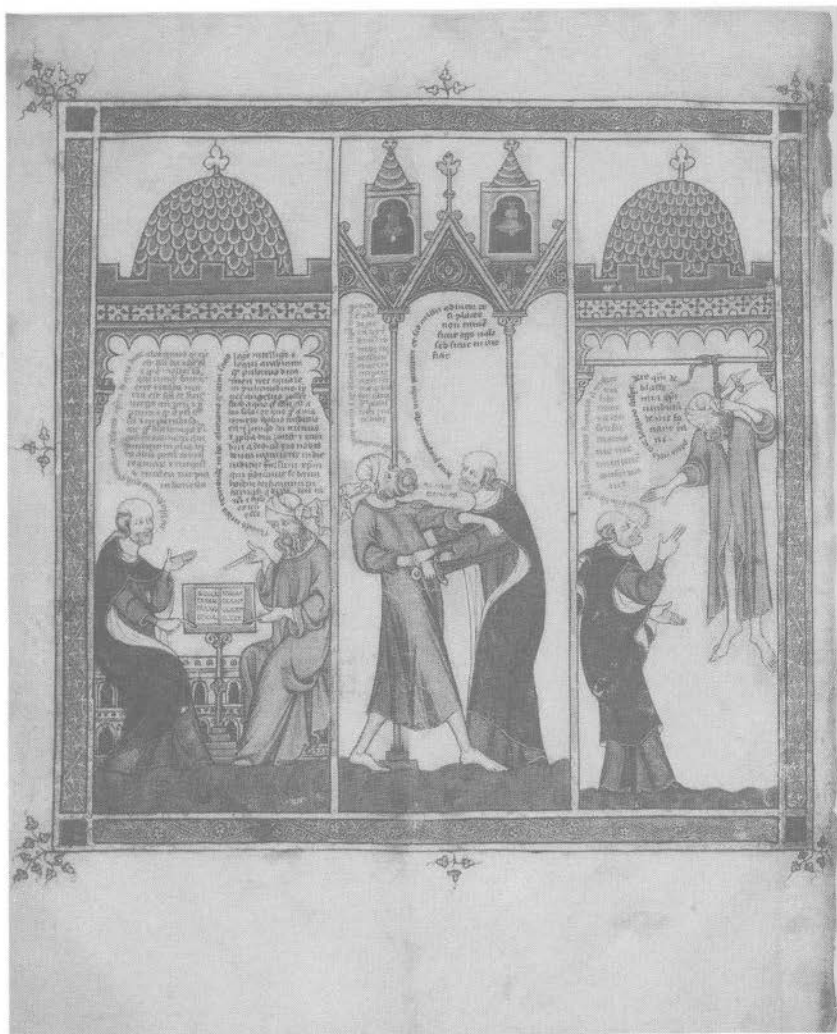
This dramatic episode, told and retold many times, is not one of the more savory episodes in the long and unusually productive life of Ramon Llull. It is represented in a stunning miniature in the *Breviculum*

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22. The critical edition of the original is *Vita Coetanea*, ed. H. Harada in *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina*, vol. 8, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 34 (Turnhout, 1980), 272-309. The relevant sections are found on 278-80; they read: "Emptoque sibi ibidem quodam Saraceno, linguam arabicam dicit ab eodem. Deinde post annos nouem contigit, quod Saracenus ille, Raimundo quadam die absente, nomen Christi blasphemaret. Quod cum reuersus cognouit. Raimundus ab his, qui blasphemiam audierat, nimio fidei zelo motus percussit illum Saracenum in ore, fronte ac facie. Saracenus uero, rancore nimio inde concepto, ex tunc coepit mente tractare, quomodo dominum suum posset occidere.

Cumque ipse, clam procurato sibi gladio, quadam die uideret sedentem dominum suum solum, irruit in eum subito, simul ipsum praedicto gladio percutiens, et cum rugitu terribili acclamans: 'Tu mortuus es.' Sed Raimundus, licet tunc ferientis brachium, quo tunc gladius tenebatur, ut Deo placuit, aliquantulum repulisset, uulnus tamen graue, licet non letale, super stomachum ex ferientis ictu recepit. Praeualens tamen ipse uiribus, illum Saracenum sibi substruit, gladiumque uiolenter abstulit ab eodem. Deinde accurrente familia, prohibuit Raimundus, ne Saracenum interficerent. Permisit tamen, quod ligatum ponerent in carcere, donec ipse deliberasset apud se, quid de illo foret potissime faciendum. Severum namque uisum sibi fuit illum perimere, quo docente sibi linguam multum optatam, scilicet arabicam, iam sciebat. Dimittere uero illum uel tenere diutius metuebat, sciens, quod ipse non cessaret ex tunc in mortem ipsius machinari.

Perplexus igitur circa istud, ascendit ad abbatiam quandam, quae prope erat, orans ibidem Dominum super hac re instantissime per tres dies. Quibus completis, admirans, quod adhuc in corde suo praetacta perplexitate remanente, Dominus, ut sibi uidebatur, ipsius orationem nullatenus exaudisset, maestus ad domum suam rediit. Cumque illuc ueniens se diuertisset ad carcerem, ut suum captiuum inuideret, inuenit, quod ipse fune, quo ligatus fuit, iugulauerat semet ipsum. Reddidit ergo Raimundus gratias Deo laetus, qui et a nece praedicti Saraceni seruauerat manus eius innoxias, et eum a perplexitate illa graui, pro qua paulo ante ipsum anxius exorauerat, liberauerat."



Llull and his Slave (from le Myésier's *Breviculus*)

of Thomas le Myésier (d. 1336), one of two extant anthologies of Llull's works and thought compiled by this Paris disciple of Llull.<sup>53</sup> The miniature is reprinted here in black and white by permission, has been reprinted and studied numerous times, but is perhaps best appreciated, if not in the original, then in the color plate—one of twelve miniatures produced in the work—published in the recent, critical edition of the *Breviculum*. The left panel utilizes invented dialogue and represents the slave's alleged blasphemies against Christ; the middle panel, illustrating the slave's attack on Llull, and the right panel, showing Llull's discovery of his slave's suicide, both follow rather closely the *Vita Coetanea*.<sup>54</sup> The episode is also the background to the reference in Llull's *Felix*, Book VII, chapter 39, to "a Christian who had a Saracen whom he trusted very much, and whom he did many favors; the Saracen however, being against him because of his religion, was unable to bear him any good will, but rather was continually thinking how he could kill him."<sup>55</sup>

Unlike some of his contemporaries, such as Aquinas who was quite comfortable with slavery, or Duns Scotus who was less so, Llull was not apparently much concerned intellectually with slavery. My brief, certainly incomplete, search among his Latin works which have been edited and published reveals no major discussions of slavery; many of his references to servitude and slavery are as metaphors for sin or

<sup>53</sup> The best introduction to Llull's life remains J.N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971), 1–134; Le Myésier's *Electorium* and *Breviculum* are the main focus of Hillgarth's book, occupying the remaining text 135–320, and ten appendices 321–479.

<sup>54</sup> See *Breviculum seu Electorium Parvum Thomae Migerii (Le Myésier)*, ed. Charles Lohr, Theodor Pindl-Büchel, and Walburga Büchel in *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina, Supplementi Lulliani* vol. 1, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 77 (Turnhout, 1990), 12–13, plate III with facing transcriptions of all three panels. In the second panel the Muslim states: "Tu mortuus es! Doleo, quia arabicum te docui! Et quare Alcoranum et legem Macometi tibi ostendi ueram ut credimus? Rationibus necessariis niteris impugnare! Et me, quare blasphemaui Christum? Percussisti me pedibus! Llull responds: "Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori et sis mihi adiutor, et si placet, non tamen sicut ego uolo, sed sicut tu uis fiat." In the third panel the Muslim states: "Plus uolo me laqueo suspendere quam de blasphemia Christi uindictam de me faciant Christiani." Llull responds: "Benedictus dominus Deus meus, qui manus meas innoxias a morte tua liberauit et a consensu mortis tuae me immunem conseruauit." Llull is dressed in a brown robe and his slave in a gray tunic. The first column of dialogue in each panel is in red, as are the left and right borders; the borders at top and bottom are blue, and the border and panel separators are all in gold. See the bibliography on xxv–xvi, esp. M. Batllori and J.N. Hillgarth, *Vida de Ramon Llull: Les fonts escrites i la iconografia coetànea* (Barcelona, 1982); and also Hillgarth, *Lull and Lullism*, 446–62, esp. 450–51.

<sup>55</sup> Bonner, ed. and trans., *Selected Works*, 2:78.

passions. In his *Libre de Contemplació*, a work of staggering dimensions, over one million words, and apparently composed first in Arabic, while his slave was still in his household, Llull does make a few passing, very formulaic references to slavery. In chapter sixty-eight Llull compares God's purchase of humans, through Jesus Christ's Passion, with the human purchase of slaves, and concludes that people should obey God, their "Master," just as slaves obey their masters.<sup>56</sup> Later, in chapter 305, there is another example of the master-slave relationship taken as a paradigm of hierarchical relations in general. Llull specifically criticizes slaves who seek more freedom than their masters are willing to allow, and masters who demand more from their slaves than they should. If Llull was at all perplexed by the institution of slavery or the specific tragedy with his own slave-tutor, it is not readily apparent in any of his writings. Given Llull's preoccupations with Islam, the size of Majorca's slave population, and the fact that Llull's most intimate contacts with Muslims were, as was the case for almost all Christians of the thirteenth century, with Muslim slaves, this is either myopia from an individual normally blessed with unusually broad vision, or an indication of just how much slavery and slaves were an accepted aspect of the intellectual and physical landscape of thirteenth-century Christendom.

If the relationship between the Church and the institution of slavery in the Middle Ages was profoundly ambiguous, as one recent scholar has argued, it was perhaps less so in the island-kingdom of Majorca.<sup>57</sup> Virtually all levels of the institutional Church—bishops, cathedral canons, hospitals, monasteries, the military orders, parish clergy, even the mendicant orders—appear in documentation holding, buying, and selling slaves. There is no evidence for the thirteenth century that the Church or churchmen were more active in manumitting, or pressing for the manumission of slaves, than were

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<sup>56</sup> I am grateful to Mark Johnston for these references. The *Libre de Contemplació en Deu* was edited as vols. 2–8 (1906–14) of the Catalan *Obres de Ramon Llull*, ed. Salvador Galmés et al. (Palma de Mallorca, 1906–50); a facsimile reprint is being issued and vols. 2–5 have appeared (Palma de Mallorca, 1987–92). Hillgarth, *Lull and Lullism*, 30, writes that "if we wish to understand Lull's character our best source is his *book of Contemplation*, the greatest work he wrote and one of the most extraordinary books of the Middle Ages." Sebastián Garcías Palou, *Ramon Llull y el Islam* (Palma de Mallorca, 1981), 30 and 51–56 has noted the numerous references to Islam in the work; see also A. Llinarès, "Références et influences arabes dans le *Libre de Contemplació*," *Estudios Lulianos*, 24 (1980), 109–127.

<sup>57</sup> Ruth Mazo Karras in her excellent study of *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia* (New Haven, 1988), 140.

other components of society. Baptism may have increased the likelihood of eventual manumission, but it alone was not sufficient. As early as April 24, 1240, Pope Gregory IX had granted the Majorcan bishop the right to concede to Majorcans that they could traffic in baptized slaves.<sup>58</sup> A richer picture awaits the discovery of new materials, or perhaps a chronological extension of the study into the fourteenth century when diocesan and other legislation is available. For the thirteenth century, the Majorcan Church and its most celebrated lay poet, philosopher, and missionary—Ramon Llull—not only acquiesced in accepting slavery's existence, but were active participants in preserving the institution itself.

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<sup>58</sup> Palma, Arxiu de la Catedral de Mallorca, *Liber privilegiorum*, fol. 2: "Gregorius nonus concessit episcopo Maioricensi ut possit concedere populo maioricensi quod baptizatos servos suos valeant vendere, prout sibi videbitur expedire." See also Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), 149, 214–15.



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